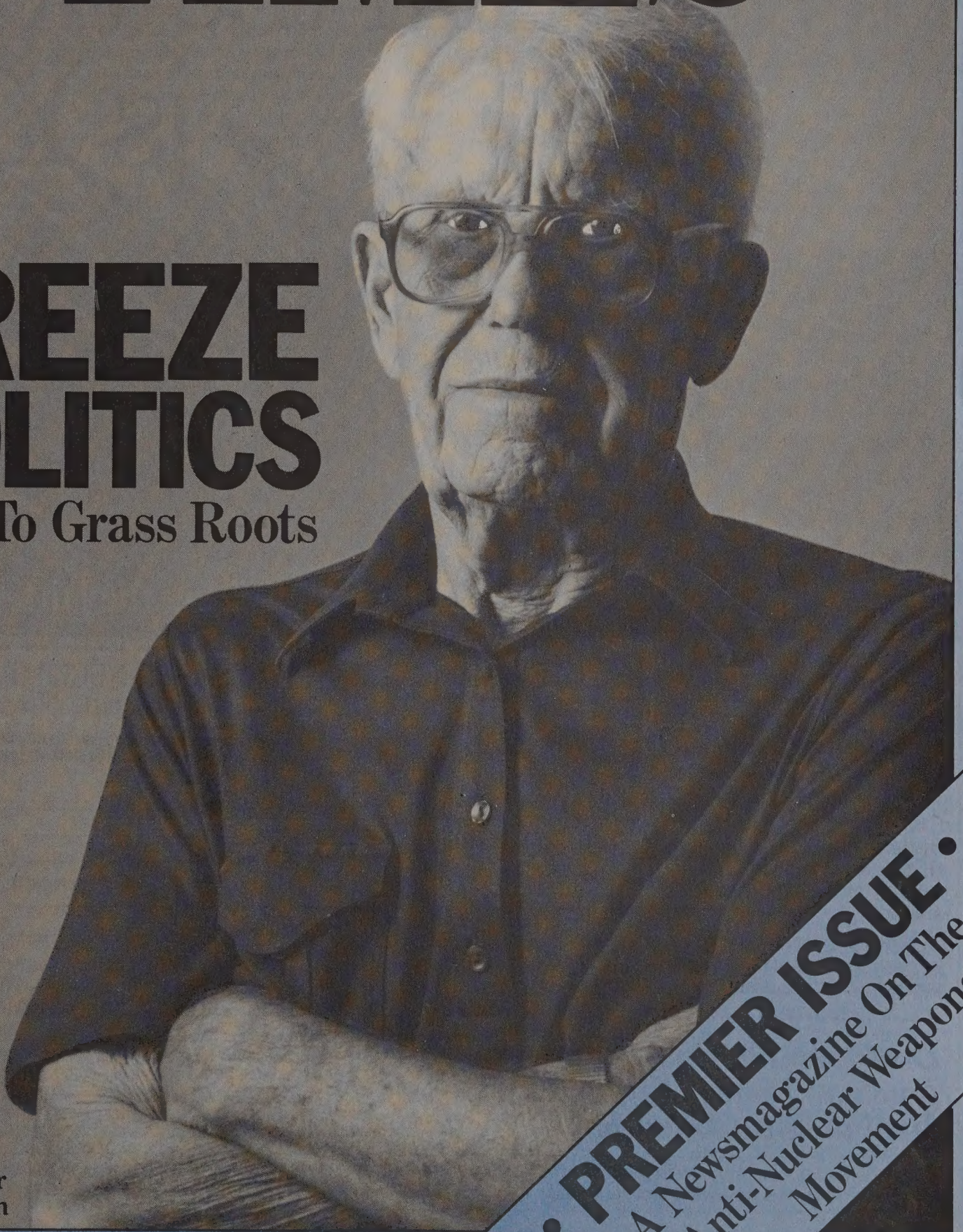


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Arizona
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Nuclear Times is a non profit publication that provides information and resources to people interested in Nuclear Disarmament issues. We welcome contributions to enable us to provide services to individuals who cannot afford to subscribe.

These Are Nuclear Times

This is the first issue of NUCLEAR TIMES, a monthly newsmagazine on the anti-nuclear weapons movement. Unless someone pushes the wrong button somewhere, we should have lots to write about.

The nuclear disarmament movement is a popular movement without precedent in this country's recent history, not just because of its strength in numbers but because it represents such a broad cross section of the American public. It is, in the truest sense of the word, a grass-roots movement, originated by ordinary citizens and drawing its strength from small local groups. We estimate that there are about three thousand such groups in this country working on the freeze or other disarmament issues. There are, in addition, an increasing number of organizations trying to translate the movement into political action at a national level.

It will be the job of NUCLEAR TIMES to report on all these activities and on the people who carry them out. Until now there has been no comprehensive source of information on the anti-nuclear weapons movement—which means there has been no way for its widely scattered groups to find out what the others are doing, or to let them know about their own projects. NUCLEAR TIMES will serve as a clearing-house for that information and a source of news for anyone who wants to keep up with the movement as a whole.

Although we at NUCLEAR TIMES are obviously in favor of reducing the number of nuclear weapons everywhere in the world—putting us in line with the 75 percent or so of the American population that favors a freeze and an even larger number of Americans who deeply desire an end to the nuclear nightmare—we espouse no political program. In fact, we do not suppose the perfect political solution has been worked out yet. There is a broad range of political proposals within the movement, and NUCLEAR TIMES will provide a forum for all of them. Perhaps in doing so, we will contribute to the sorting-out process that will, if anything will do it, bring us a solution to the nuclear dilemma.

It will, in short, be the job of NUCLEAR TIMES to present

a faithful record of the anti-nuclear weapons movement as it develops, month by month—and if we succeed in bringing a measure of understanding to the events of these times, we will count ourselves as successful, indeed.

The anti-nuclear weapons movement, with its vast outpouring of outrage, compassion, and energy, is the single most hopeful event of our times, and NUCLEAR TIMES will be a reflection of it. At the same time, we will proceed, as the movement itself must, with our eyes wide open to the enormous difficulties inherent in reversing the dark tide of our recent history, which began when the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.

This is no time for faint-hearted Pollyannas who are afraid to look our predicament straight in the eye, hoping it will go away. And it's no time for tired radicals and worn-out idealists who think they've seen it all and have decided that nothing works. But it is high time for all of us to start thinking and working together to extricate ourselves from this very real nightmare. People, not impersonal forces of history, got us into this fix—and enough of the right people can get us out.

You can read about some of them in this issue: a rancher in Montana who is fed up with having an intercontinental ballistic missile on his land; an 81-year-old grandfather in Arizona who collected more than 2000 signatures for the freeze initiative there; members of a church group in Newton, Kansas, who are holding a vigil at a local missile site; a California millionaire who helped bankroll the freeze campaign in that state; a secretary in Albany, New York, who quit her job at a nuclear research lab because her conscience wouldn't let her continue; 97 Nobel Prize winners who have called for a nuclear freeze because they feel that "time is fast running out" to prevent a nuclear holocaust.

If you like the company and don't mind the odds, then NUCLEAR TIMES is your magazine.

Phil Stanford

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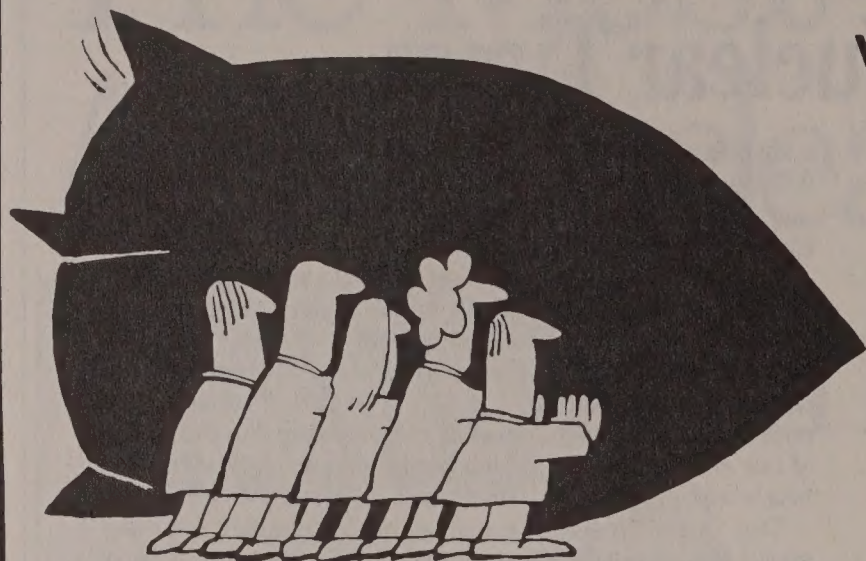
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• **Editor** Phil Stanford, **Asst. Editor** David Corn, **Editorial Asst.** Walter Lew, **Review Editor** Ann Marie Cunningham, **Contributing Editors** Robert Friedman, Suzanne Gordon, Fred Kaplan, Howard Kohn, Howard Rosenberg • **Design Consultant** Pegi Goodman, **Contributing Artists** Tom Bloom, Steven Guarnaccia, Jay Harper, Harvey Wang, Anders Wenngren • **Publisher** Jack Berkowitz, **Assoc. Publisher** Cynthia Kling-Jones, **Publishing Asst.** Andrea Doremus • **Interns** Sara Matson, Renata Rizzo • **Board of Directors** Jack Berkowitz, Hodding Carter, Robert Friedman, Wade Greene, Colin Greer, Adam Hochschild, John Z. Larsen, Thomas B. Morgan, Thomas M. Powers, Anne Mollegen Smith, Susan Margolis Winter, Anne B. Zill.

VOLUME I, NUMBER 1

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TENTATIVE ITINERARY

Wednesday Nov. 10—Leave New York City (evening)

Thursday Nov. 11—West Berlin—*American/NATO decision to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles on European soil*: Briefing by NATO staff (evening)

Friday Nov. 12—West Berlin—*Response of the Peace Movement to Rearmament*: Lecture, slide show, discussions and workshops (morning & afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 13—West Berlin—*City Politics and Community Organizing in Berlin*: Alternative bus tour of city with lecture and discussions (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 14—East Berlin—*History of Fascism*: Visit to Sachsenhausen concentration camp (morning); *Politics of Peace in the German Democratic Republic*: Visit with government representatives (afternoon)

Monday Nov. 15—Dortmund—*East/West Trade, the Gas Pipeline Deal and U.S. Foreign Policy*: Visit turbine or pipe factory (afternoon); viewpoints of Industry, Labor and representatives from the foreign offices of West Germany and the Soviet Union (evening)

Tuesday Nov. 16—Dortmund—*Nuclear Power and Alternative Energy*: Visit nuclear power plant at Hamm (morning & afternoon); Green Party, ecologists and alternative economists (evening)

Wednesday Nov. 17—Cologne—*War & Reconstruction*: Slide show and lecture on WWII bombing raids (morning); walking tour of old section of the city (afternoon)

Thursday Nov. 18—Bonn—*Disarmament Politics, Parliamentary Parties and the 1984 Federal Elections*: Talks and discussions with Christian Democrats (morning), Social Democrats (afternoon)

Friday Nov. 19—Amsterdam—*Disarmament Politics and Parliamentary Parties in Holland*: Talks and discussions with Workers' Party, Christian Democrats, Pacifist Socialist Party, Communist Party-Netherlands (afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 20—Amsterdam—*The Peace Movement and Alternative Politics*: Representatives of various social movements (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 21—Return to New York City

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• EARLY WARNINGS •

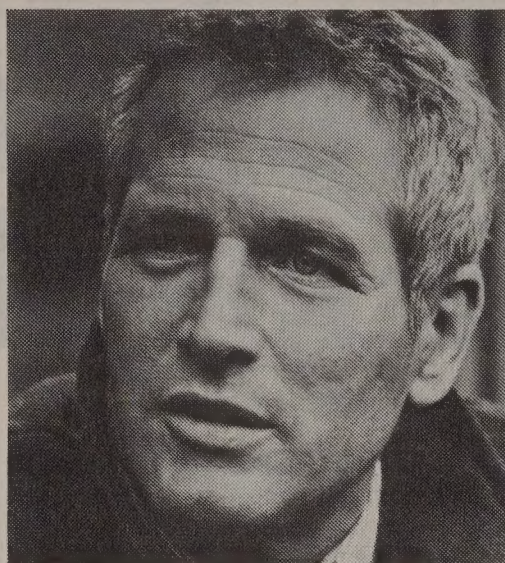
TAXING THE IMAGINATION: The Internal Revenue Service is planning ahead. A Treasury Department tax analyst believes that nuclear devastation would ruin most tax records. So, in the event of war, the government may have to scrap the income tax and institute a national sales tax—perhaps as high as 20 percent. Planner Gary Robbins warns, however: "The tax must be calibrated . . . to permit increased government spending to be accomplished without inflation."

SEEING STARS: Look for two major rock concerts toward the end of October which will seek to raise funds for the Nuclear Freeze Political Action Committee. Donald Spector, founder of the PAC, says the concerts, to be held in New York and Washington, D.C., will feature top-draw musicians (no names yet) and will be modeled after the Musicians United for Safe Energy concerts held at Madison Square Garden in 1979 . . . Up in Boston, Arlo Guthrie will hold a "Concert for Nuclear Disarmament" at the Orpheum Theater on October 9, proceeds to go to the disarmament programs of the New England AFSC and Citizens for Participation in Political Action. The concert is being held on what would have been John Lennon's 42nd birthday . . . Out on the west coast, actor Paul Newman has made quite a generous contribution to the freeze campaign—himself. Newman, who has been active in the anti-nuclear weapons movement for some time, will go on the stump in support of California's freeze referendum. "He's giving us eight days," says Josh Baran, press coordinator of Californians for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Two separate media blitzes are planned, one in early October, the other the week before the election.

ACCIDENTS NEVER HAPPEN: As a matter of public relations, the Defense Department spends hundreds of thousands of dollars each year assisting the production of films and television programs that deal with the military. Although it has offered a hand to the television show *M*A*S*H* and the movie *Stripes*, both of which poked fun at the Army, there is one subject the Pentagon will not touch—accidental nuclear war. Military brass denied assistance to Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangelove* in 1963, and, earlier this year, they turned down *War Games*, a forthcoming film about an adolescent genius who taps into the computer system that controls the U.S. nuclear arsenal. "There would be no point in even sitting down and discussing" such films with

producers, Donald Baruch recently told *The Wall Street Journal*. Baruch, a Pentagon official who has helped decide what movies to assist for the past 32 years, says that "the concept is one that could not happen."

SPACED OUT: Speaking of stars, the newest arena for nuclear-arms competition among the superpowers is outer space. According to Gregory Fossedal, a consultant for the right-wing Heritage



Newman: Touring for the freeze

Foundation, the Reagan administration's plan for a satellite antimissile system—code named "High Frontier"—may be "the secret weapon . . . to undercut the freeze crusade." Developments in outer space, says Fossedal in a recent issue of *Conservative Digest*, could make "arms control negotiations irrelevant, because it wouldn't matter what the Soviet Union did with its arms . . . 'High Frontier' would turn the grass-roots nuclear freeze movement inside out."

PEACE CHILD: The highly successful London musical, *Peace Child*, comes to Washington's Kennedy Center December 1 to benefit Save the Children. Liv Ullmann has agreed to play the lead if her schedule permits, according to John Marks of the Nuclear Network, which is cosponsoring the event. The musical, written by David Gordon, is about children in the United States and the Soviet Union and their fears of nuclear war. . . . One person who will probably stay away from the Kennedy Center that night is retired Lieutenant General Edward Rowny, chief U.S. negotiator for the START talks. In a new book, titled *Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials*, Rowny is

quoted as saying: "Part of these current movements that I abhor is this nonsense—and really irresponsible business—of getting schoolkids involved. We laughed and ridiculed the Amy Carter approach to public policy. Now, we're not only putting our policy in the hands of opinion-makers seven, eight, and nine—we're traumatizing these people, engendering a fear there which is not responsible."

HEIMLICH MANEUVER: Dr. Henry Heimlich, who became famous for his first-aid treatment of food-choking victims, is now on the promotion trail for world peace. The Cincinnati surgeon believes his "Computers for Peace" idea—expanding trade with adversaries—can dissolve mistrust with the realization that "war is no longer as profitable as peace." Says Heimlich: "The time has come for people to react in their own self-interest. . . . We have two years to turn ourselves around before we get hopelessly and finally locked into a war course."

SICILIAN CRUISE: Longtime peace activist W.H. "Ping" Ferry was off to the Sicilian town of Comiso for a week of fact finding in mid-September. He was accompanied by the Reverend John Collins, co-director of Clergy and Laity Concerned, and the Reverend James Lawson, pastor of the Holman United Methodist Church in Los Angeles. Comiso is the home of an abandoned air base, where protests have already taken place over NATO plans to deploy the cruise missile. Ferry (to whom E.P. Thompson has dedicated his new book, *Beyond the Cold War*) intends to put Comiso on the agenda of the American anti-nuclear weapons movement.

HOT: Ground Zero's primer, *Nuclear War: What's In It For You?*, has sold over 250,000 copies and is now in its sixth printing. Next, the group is planning a sequel on how Soviet citizens and their leaders look at nuclear war. The paperback will be out early next year. Ground Zero will hold teach-ins on the subject to coincide with the book's publication.

FINAL THOUGHTS: *Plain Truth*, the official publication of Herbert Armstrong's Worldwide Church of God, offers this sobering thought in its August 1982 issue: "Many scoff at God's intentions. But allowing nuclear warfare to almost obliterate mankind is the only way God can get man's full attention." —Debra Barclay

•FORUM•

Almost since its inception, the anti-nuclear weapons movement has been wrestling with the question of whether to focus on just one issue—nuclear arms—or attempt to link that issue to other economic and foreign policy concerns. NUCLEAR TIMES posed the following question to a number of activists and public figures around the country:

Should the campaign to freeze nuclear weapons be a single-issue movement?

RANDY KEHLER

National Coordinator of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

The immediate objective of the national freeze campaign is very specific and highly focused. We are concentrating on achieving an immediate U.S.-Soviet freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons. In this sense, we are indeed a single-issue campaign. At the same time, I do not think the freeze campaign can be compared to most other single-issue campaigns. Unlike gun control or school prayer, the nuclear arms race is already affecting almost every facet of human existence.

The freeze campaign differs from other single-issue campaigns in another way: it seeks to educate people not only about the freeze, but about the far-reaching implications of the nuclear arms race. At our last national conference, there was nearly unanimous agreement that we should encourage local freeze campaigns to link the freeze with the social and economic impacts of the nuclear arms race.

But the immediate focus of the campaign should continue to be on the freeze itself, as a modest yet dramatic first step toward reversing the nuclear arms race. In my view, the great success of the campaign thus far is in part due to the fact that we have a single, specific, immediate objective that can be understood and supported by a wide range of people.

DAVID CORTRIGHT

Director of SANE

We must not view nuclear issues in a vacuum, ignoring vital political and economic issues.

The arms race is most directly connected to U.S. foreign and military policy. The assumptions and objectives underlying America's role in the world determine these policies. Thus there is a direct connection between opposition to military intervention and the prevention of nuclear war.

The decision to increase U.S. nuclear and military spending is as much a matter of economic and social priorities as foreign policy. The diversion of funds from

domestic programs to weaponry has already set off a time bomb of sorts in many low-income and working-class communities. All of us talk about the need for outreach to women, minorities, and labor. We cannot expect the involvement of these people, however, unless we show interest in their concerns for economic survival and social justice.

EDWARD KENNEDY

Democratic Senator of Massachusetts

The prevention of nuclear war is not a single issue; it is the single most important issue of all time. We must stop the nuclear arms race before it stops the human race. Aside from threatening humanity with extinction, the nuclear arms race is crippling our capacity to meet human needs and to revitalize the economy. The two greatest issues of our time—the prosperity of our economy and the probability of survival in the nuclear age—are inextricably intertwined. Not only could a freeze save at least \$18 billion annually, it could help defend against the prospect of endless budget deficits.

JEREMY STONE

Director of the Federation of American Scientists

The freeze is immensely popular, precisely because, being unlinked to other issues, it is free to appeal to a very broad spectrum. If linking the freeze to other issues means appealing only to selected audiences, then, obviously, this would be counterproductive. In my opinion, the freeze is more popular than any other related issue to which it might be linked. It is the freeze that has the coattails, and they should be used sparingly.

CORA WEISS

Director of the Riverside Church Disarmament Program

Impossible is the answer. Life is not a single issue. Survival is not a single issue. And it must be jobs with peace, not just peace alone. The freeze has got to include the economics, because as long as there is a capital-intensive economy, there can't be jobs. As long as there is going to be high unemployment, the workers are going to be only interested in jobs. America is made up of workers. Those who want to keep the freeze a single-issue campaign are limiting it to a middle-class, white campaign.

RANDALL FORSBERG

Director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies

The freeze should not be a single-issue campaign. It should be seen as a critical

step, but only as a first step in a disarmament program that is linked to other foreign-policy and military issues. The connection between conventional and nuclear arms is a strong one. To a considerable extent, the function of nuclear weapons is to influence the outcome and conduct of conventional wars. Thus, it is unlikely that we will be able to end the threat of nuclear war by reducing nuclear weapons, unless the likelihood of conventional war is also reduced.

PATRICIA SCHROEDER

Democratic Representative of Colorado

Yes. Linkage and the nuclear freeze movement should not and do not mix. The trouble with linkage is that it begins to add too many pieces to the puzzle, leaving the real issue buried. Governments tend to use linkage to shroud the real issue altogether, as the Reagan administration has done by linking the Soviet pipeline to the lifting of martial law in Poland. The only linkage the freeze movement should make is to legislation that seeks to design, test, or buy nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. The freeze movement must be kept viable, and the easiest way to do that is to keep the real issue clearly presented.

BETSY TAYLOR

Executive Director of the Nuclear Information and Resource Service

This is a crucial question that is too often answered with a forceful "either/or." I believe there is a middle road to take.

For the short term, the freeze campaign should confine its policy objective to the passage of the freeze resolution. In this way, it will not jeopardize its broad-based support. However, the campaign should not restrict its educational program or its behind-the-scenes cooperation with organizations taking more radical positions. It should attempt to demonstrate how a freeze relates to other pivotal issues—U.S. intervention in Latin America, the economy, military appropriations. This would help deepen the understanding of freeze advocates without forcing them to add new political goals to local campaigns.

Once an educational groundwork has been laid, and the freeze campaign has assessed its electoral and legislative strength, the campaign should determine how to up the ante in 1983. In particular, I would advocate an explicit linkage with European peace groups in a joint effort to halt deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles. Unless funding is cut for specific weapons systems such as these, the freeze will be rendered meaningless.

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Back To "Grass Roots"



With Congress turning its back, at least temporarily, on a nuclear freeze, supporters of a moratorium on the nuclear arms race are returning to the "grass roots"—where, they have said

all along, the real strength of the movement lies.

This fall, voters in 10 states, the District of Columbia, and at least 30 cities and counties around the country—representing one-quarter of the nation's population—will have a chance to vote yes or no on the nuclear freeze. Taken together, this will be the largest referendum on a single issue in this country's history, and when the final votes are counted this November, it will be much clearer just how strong and effective the fledgling anti-nuclear movement really is.

In November, freeze resolutions will appear on ballots in California, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Michigan, Arizona, Oregon, Montana, Massachusetts, and North Dakota. Chicago, Philadelphia, Denver, and Miami will vote on the freeze. On the other end of the population scale, so will little Kearny, Nebraska (population 21,149) and Izard County, Arkansas (10,768).

In Wisconsin, the first state to vote on the freeze, the resolution carried by an overwhelming three-to-one margin. More than 800,000 people turned out to vote on the measure, which was included on a state primary ballot September 14.

The referendum was not placed on the November ballot because of a compromise reached by the Wisconsin legislature when it voted on the measure. Republican legislators demanded the earlier date in return for their votes, figuring it would give backers less time to drum up support among the electorate.

During the weeks before the vote, the Reagan administration sent State Department officials into Wisconsin to argue against the freeze. One of them,

Christopher Lehman, director of the department's office of strategic nuclear policy, sounded what will probably be the administration's theme song this fall, when he told Wisconsinites that the measure would "freeze the balance of power in a position of Soviet advantage" and would "undercut" administration attempts to negotiate an arms agreement with the U.S.S.R.

In the weeks preceding the vote, freeze supporters—among them Senator Alan Cranston of California, retired Admiral Eugene Carroll, Jr., of the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C., and Helen Caldicott, of Physicians for Social Responsibility—also visited Wisconsin to make public appearances. Ben Senturia, referendum coordinator for the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign in St. Louis, Missouri, spent two days at state freeze campaign headquarters in Madison helping the state committee arrange for speakers and prepare for the final days of the campaign.

Senturia says he expects Wisconsin to be a preview of campaigns in other

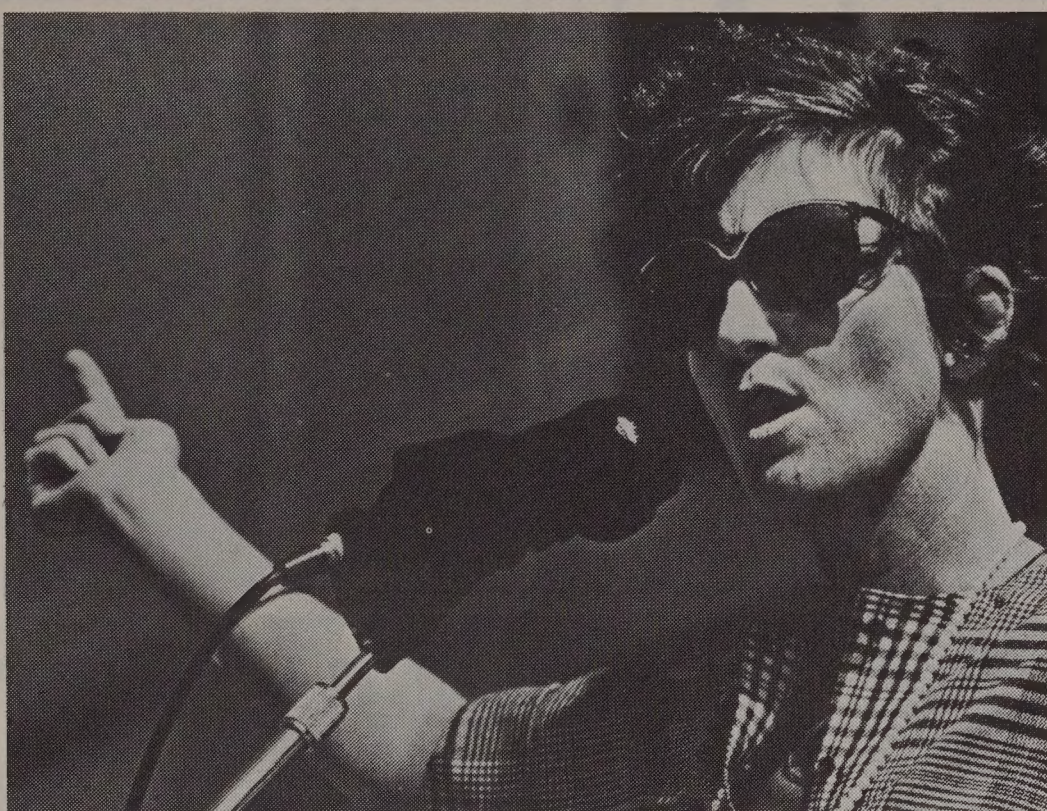
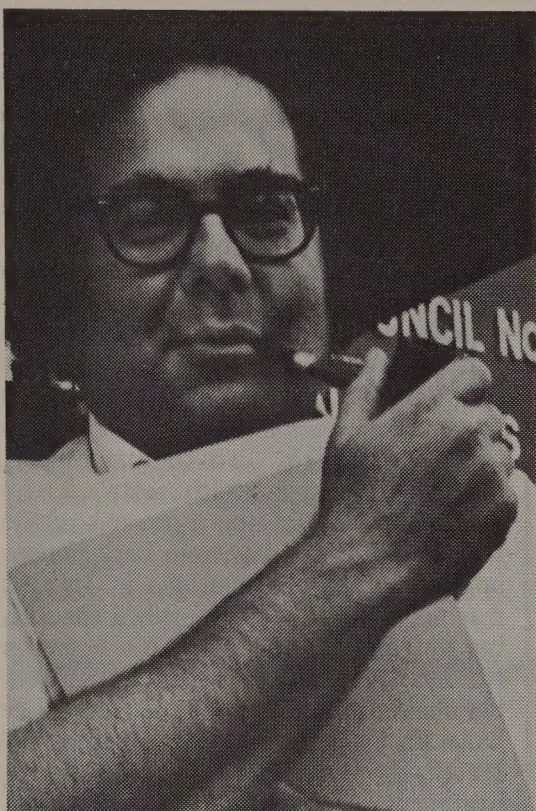
states. "Because of the magnitude of this thing, with 26 percent of the population involved, I expect the administration to take this very seriously, just as they did the vote in Congress."

The nuclear freeze movement—which, in its most basic form, calls for a halt to the testing, development, and production of nuclear weapons by the United States and the Soviet Union, followed by negotiations to reduce the nuclear arsenals of both countries—has been called a popular movement without precedent in American history. Since the spring of 1981, when a scattering of New England town meetings voted to endorse a resolution drawn up by military analyst and peace activist Randall Forsberg, it has been endorsed by 232 city councils, 446 New England town meetings, 51 county councils, and the state legislatures of Massachusetts, Oregon, Connecticut, Vermont, Maine, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Hawaii, Delaware, Iowa, and New York.

According to a May *New York Times* poll, 87 percent of the population favors a nuclear freeze that would give neither



Wisconsin victory yell: Milwaukee freeze supporters celebrate September 14.



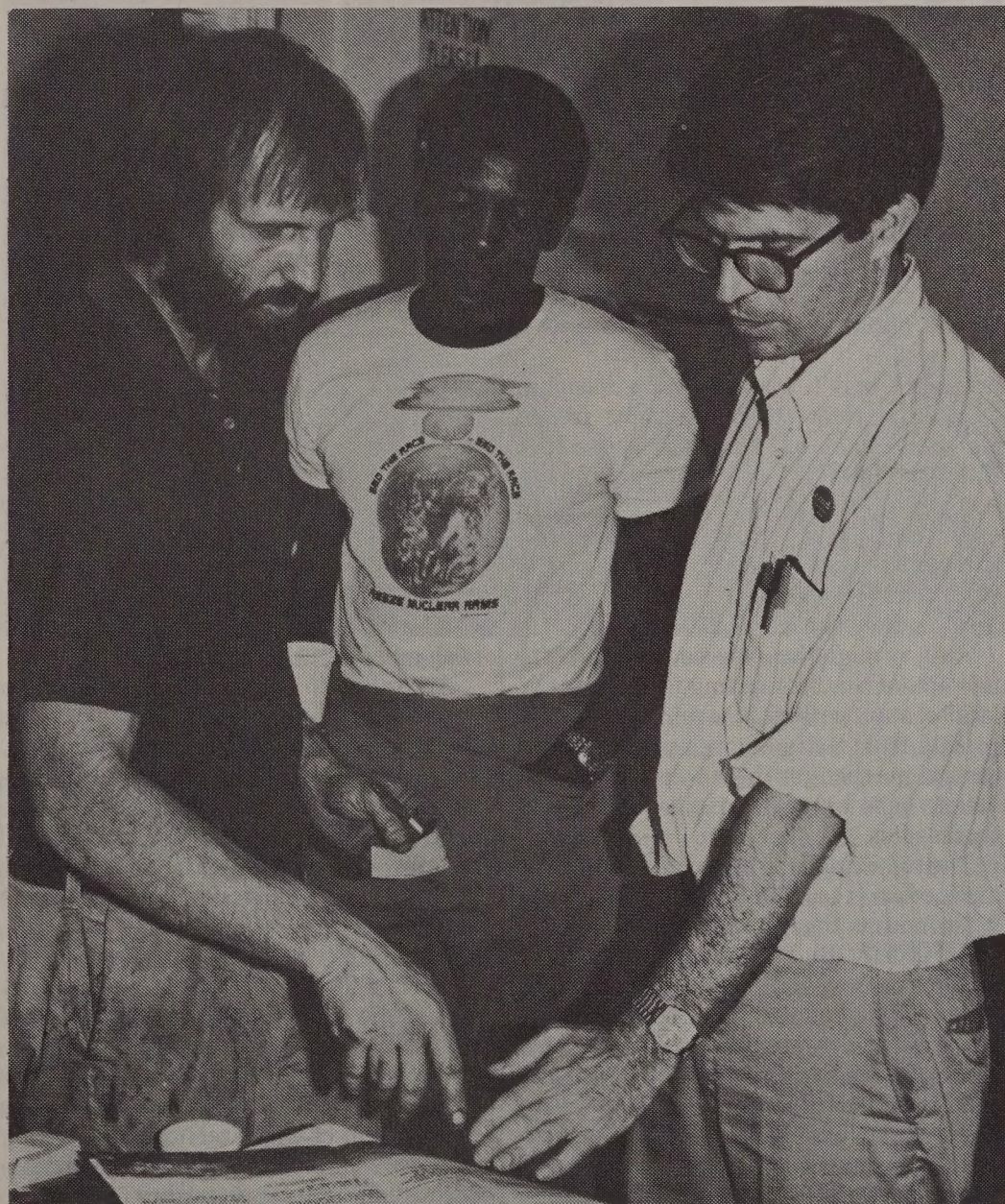
Ben Senturia and Helen Caldicott paid pre-vote visits to Wisconsin.

the United States nor the Soviet Union a military advantage.

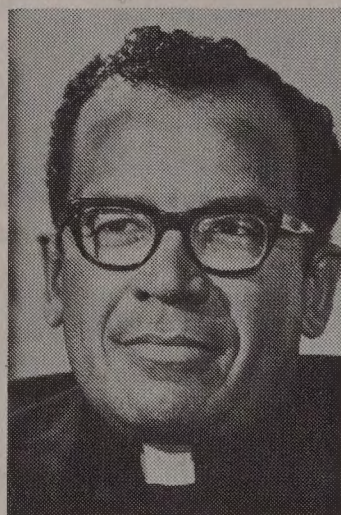
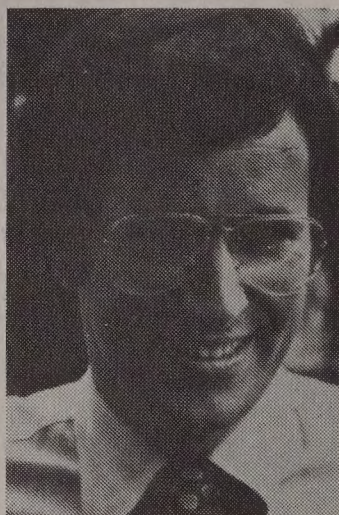
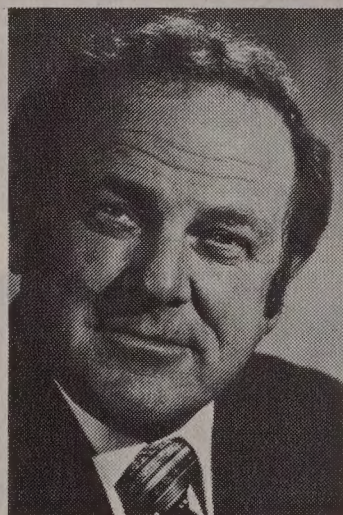
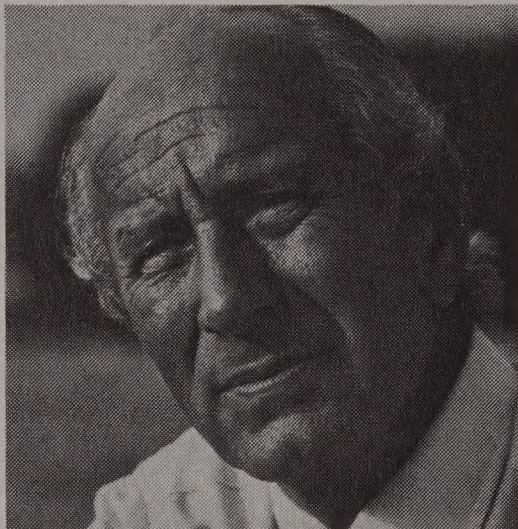
However, the freeze movement has also suffered its setbacks. In June, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee turned down a freeze resolution sponsored by Senators Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Mark Hatfield of Oregon, preventing the measure from reaching the Senate floor. And in August, the House of Representatives, after intense lobbying by the Reagan administration, voted against a similarly worded freeze resolution. The crucial vote, on the administration's version of a freeze, which would have allowed a build-up of nuclear forces prior to negotiations, was 204-202.

So for now, advocates of a nuclear freeze are pinning their hopes on the November vote—not just on the referendums, but on a number of congressional races that pit backers and opponents of the freeze against each other. (*For more on the congressional races, see page 14.*) "This movement is strong enough to weather a defeat in Congress," says Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Of the 10 state referendums, four of them—in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Rhode Island—were put on the ballot by a vote of the state legislature; the other six are the result of initiative petition drives. Although they are all basically alike in calling for an end to the nuclear arms race and reductions in numbers of nuclear weapons, they differ slightly from state to state. In Wisconsin, the resolution called upon the U.S. government "to work vigorously to negotiate a nuclear weapons moratorium and reduction." In California, the resolution requires the governor to write to the



Randy Kehler (right) in St. Louis with Freeze Campaign staffers.



Freeze faces: (Clockwise from top left) Randall Forsberg, freeze originator; Representative Jim Weaver, Oregon; Bishop Manuel Moreno, Arizona; Representative Les AuCoin, Oregon; Thomas Clifford, president of the University of North Dakota

president and the state's congressional delegation requesting a nuclear freeze along the lines of the one proposed by Kennedy and Hatfield. Montana's freeze resolution includes a phrase expressing opposition to the MX missile, which the administration has said it may base in the state. North Dakota's calls for a multilateral, rather than a bilateral freeze.

And, as might be expected in a political movement that has sprung from scores of local groups with only a minimum of direction from national organizations, the campaigns that got the resolutions on the ballots have been as varied as the states themselves.

The following is a brief rundown on the eight states that will be voting on freeze referendums this November:

CALIFORNIA: By far the largest number of votes that will be cast on a freeze resolution this November will be in California, with its diverse population of 24 million. There, in one of the broadest coalitions in the state's history, feminists have joined with Roman Catholic bishops, black ministers with corporate lawyers, and Berkeley radicals with both of Ronald Reagan's daughters. To get the

resolution on the ballot, supporters collected more than three-quarters of a million signatures. As befits a state of this magnitude, the California freeze campaign has also had the largest budget. By September, the campaign had spent \$1 million and it expects to raise another \$500,000 to \$1 million by November for what promises to be a bruising battle with administration forces.

According to a Mervin Field poll, taken in late April, 64 percent of the population in California favored the freeze. Support, said the pollster, "cuts across most ideological, partisan, geographic, ethnic, educational, and other demographic lines." A later poll suggests the vote will be much closer. (*For more about California see page 13.*)

NEW JERSEY: On June 10, New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean, a Republican, signed the legislation that put the freeze referendum on the ballot. Furthermore, he said he intended to vote for it. The passage and signing of the bill was the culmination of three months of lobbying by freeze committees in each of New Jersey's 40 legislative districts.

The debate in the state senate took

place a matter of days after President Reagan's Eureka, Illinois, speech, in which he proposed that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. reduce their ICBMs by one-third. Resolution sponsors anticipated a heated debate and a close vote.

In the end, however, the bill passed the senate by a vote of 30-0, and the assembly by 70-2. There have been no statewide polls but a recent poll in populous Bergen County found 87 percent in favor of a nuclear freeze.

MASSACHUSETTS: Up to the last minute, it appeared that Massachusetts's freeze referendum would never get out of the state legislature. Although both houses approved freeze resolutions in July, it was necessary for a conference committee to iron out the differences between the two versions. And with the September deadline for getting on the November ballot fast approaching, Speaker of the House Thomas W. McGee was refusing to appoint conferees, thus effectively killing the measure.

Political pressure broke the logjam. On September 20, 200 freeze supporters gathered outside the State House to protest McGee's inaction. About the same time McGee also received a letter signed by 12 of the 14 members of the state's congressional delegation urging him to reconsider. On September 22, a conference committee met and approved a freeze resolution calling for a "nuclear weapons moratorium", and on the following day, just hours before the deadline, both houses voted to put it on the ballot November 2.

ARIZONA: Two political novices in Tucson, Nancy Carroll and Sister Gail Britanick, can take much of the credit for the appearance of the freeze resolution on Arizona's ballot. After Carroll returned from the freeze campaign's national convention in Denver last February, they put together a volunteer organization and started a petition drive. "All the politicians we talked to told us there wasn't enough money or time to do it," says Carroll. Yet, within 90 days, they collected 74,000 signatures, far exceeding the 54,000 required to place the measure on the state ballot. Total cost for the campaign, which operated out of Carroll's basement: \$1000.

Arizona's churches were instrumental in the petition drive. The state's three Catholic bishops all gave public support. Bishop Thomas O'Brien of the Phoenix Diocese distributed 1000 petitions to all his parishes with instructions on how to collect signatures. Tucson's bishop, Manuel Moreno, sent a letter to each congregation urging parishioners to support the freeze initiative. The state's Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Methodist

churches also endorsed the drive.

The most vocal opposition so far has come from the *Arizona Republic* in Phoenix, which editorialized against the "mush-heads" and "communist dupes" who wanted to stop building nuclear weapons. The state's other major daily, the *Tucson Star*, has supported the campaign. (For more on Arizona, see story below.)

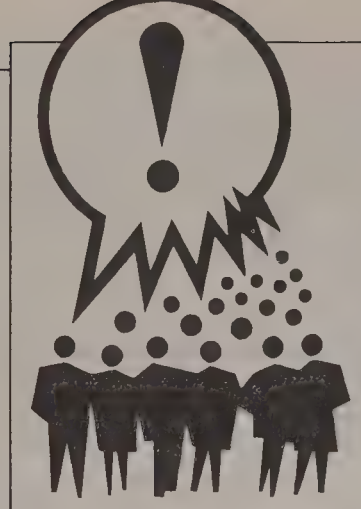
MICHIGAN: In Michigan these days, if you want to find a lot of people in one place, go to the unemployment office. In fact, says freeze organizer Michael Betzold, "Unemployment offices proved to be one of our best petitioning spots."

To get the resolution on the state's ballot required 229,000 signatures. When organizers presented their petitions to

state officials in May they had 385,000, all collected in a four-month period.

In early January, the *Detroit Free Press* published an article by Betzold, in which he described his own personal terror of nuclear war and suggested a freeze initiative in the state. "Immediately volunteers just came out of the woodwork," says Betzold. Churches and labor unions contributed volunteers. One Sunday in March was dubbed "Signature Sunday," and parishioners were asked to sign petitions as they left services.

A poll conducted in Detroit this August by the *Free Press* and a local television station found 40 percent in favor of the freeze resolution outright, 31 percent in favor only if they were convinced that there is military parity between the



United States and the Soviet Union. This suggests that the final outcome is still in doubt, but freeze organizers say they will try to win over the decisive 31 percent by

ARIZONA

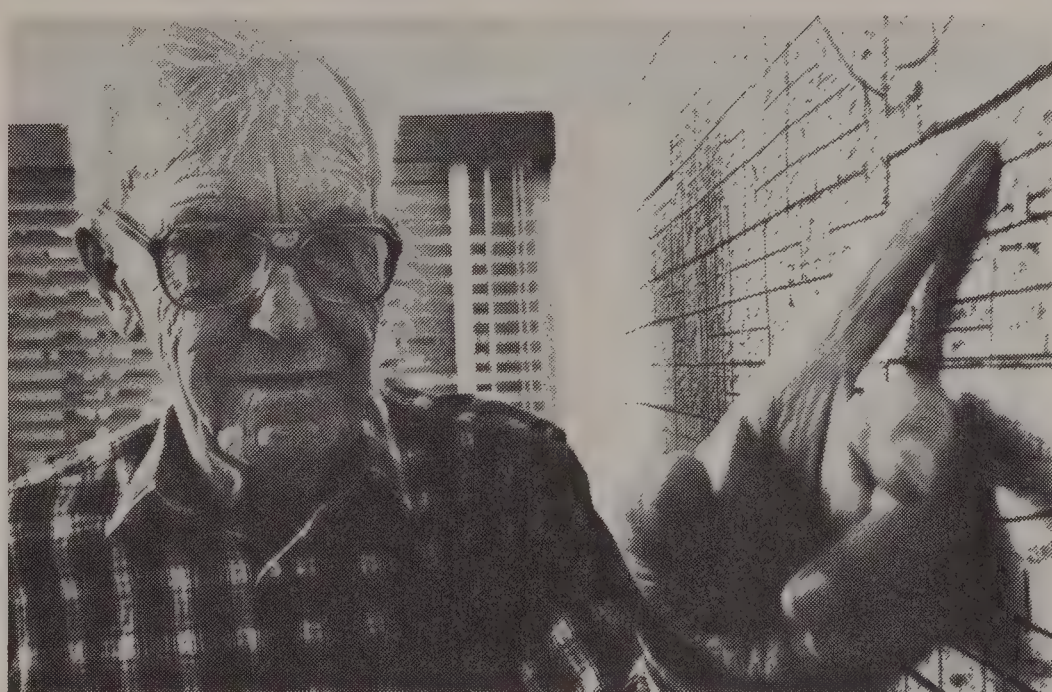
"This Is A Grandparent Movement"

In conservative Arizona, even freeze organizers were surprised at how easily they placed a referendum on the November ballot. One reason for the petition drive's success, says Dean Bradley T. Usher of Phoenix's Trinity Cathedral Church and co-chairman of Arizonans for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze, was the support and participation of the state's elderly residents. "This is partially a grandparent movement," says Usher.

In Phoenix, Otto Benson, an 81-year-old retired contractor, was responsible for gathering more than 2000 signatures. Benson canvassed door to door, collected signatures in front of supermarkets, and passed out petitions in over 20 churches. Benson, who describes himself as a novice and "not particularly interested in politics," says he found himself well received by most of the people he met.

"Some people were amazed that anyone as old as me would work this hard," says Benson, who worked three to four hours every day for two months, occasionally in temperatures reaching 110 degrees. Often he would be asked into people's homes for a cool drink, especially by women. "Sometimes some of the men acted like they wanted to chase me off their properties. I didn't get mad at them. I felt sorry for them."

Benson says he collected many of his signatures from elderly people. "They're not afraid for themselves, that they think they're going to die. They're worried about the grandchildren. With me, it's my great-grandchildren." He plans to visit his six grandchildren and three great-grandchildren in California prior to the freeze initiative there in order to



81-year-old Otto Benson collected 2000 signatures in Phoenix.

lobby his grandchildren on the freeze.

When the Arizona petition drive began, Usher said, freeze organizers were told that they "would never succeed." But on July 1, after only three months of petitioning, the state's freeze campaign filed 74,000 signatures with the secretary of state—20,000 more than needed.

Nearly 11 percent of these signatures were collected by Alan and Mary MacEwan, a Tucson couple, both in their seventies. They say they got most of their 8000 signatures working the lines outside movie theaters showing *E.T.*

But perhaps the biggest surprise for most freeze activists was Sun City. Sun City, a retirement community of 48,000 located 16 miles outside Phoenix, pro-

vided the highest proportion of signatures per capita in the state. One out of every 30 Sun City residents signed the petition, according to the Central Arizona Center to Reverse the Arms Race.

"This is an affluent Republican bastion," says Usher. "These are conservative people who have moved here from all across the country. We got a lot of signatures there. It surprised us."

Carol Anderson, 62, a Sun City resident who worked on the petition drive, acknowledges that although the retirement community is conservative, she is "not surprised" by the level of freeze support there. "The reason is simply that we have seen the horrors of nuclear war and many of the younger people have not."

hammering at the economic side of the issue—that the arms race costs jobs in hard-pressed Michigan.

NORTH DAKOTA: In North Dakota, the smallest of the initiative states, with a total population of 652,000, campaign workers had to gather 13,000 signatures for the referendum to get on the ballot. They turned in over 16,000.

The task was easier in some respects than in other states because there is no voter registration in North Dakota. (Anyone over 18 who has lived in the state for 30 days is eligible to vote.) "We were amazed at how easy it was," says freeze worker Marv Mutzenberger, of

Bismarck. "We could have gotten 30,000 signatures if we'd had to. The national office said they had a little money if we needed it. We didn't need it."

Volunteers for the petition drive came from various peace groups as well as the Catholic, Methodist, and Lutheran churches. The sponsoring committees for the initiative includes representatives of the state's electrical cooperative; Sam McQuade, a beer distributor; Thomas Clifford, president of the University of North Dakota; former Republican national committeewoman, Gerridee Wheeler; and three Republican state legislators.

OREGON: Freeze workers in Oregon collected 112,000 signatures in about 10 weeks this spring, more than twice the number needed to put a referendum on the ballot. In Portland alone last May, more than 8000 volunteers circulated petitions.

The initiative was filed with state officials by U.S. Representatives Jim Weaver and Les AuCoin, and the petition drive was coordinated by their staffs. Volunteers came from the Audubon Society, Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club, and Physicians for Social Responsibility, as well as traditional peace groups.

At the center of the campaign has been the Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, which includes the Catholic Church and 11 Protestant denominations. Member churches appointed a person in each congregation to collect signatures. One Portland woman collected 1100 signatures at her church on a single Sunday.

Freeze organizers say support for the campaign has been so broad that they have had trouble keeping up with events. Julie Williamson, who works out of Congressman AuCoin's office in Portland, says her office has stopped planning freeze activities altogether: "There isn't any need. So many groups are active in the freeze right now that we're just acting as an information clearinghouse, just trying to let everyone know what everyone else is doing."

MONTANA: In early 1981, amid talk in Washington about basing part of the MX missile system in Montana, John McNamer, a cattle rancher who lives about 60 miles north of Missoula, started circulating petitions around Missoula to protest the government's plan. In August, encouraged by the success of his private petition drive, McNamer joined forces with the Montana Network for Nuclear Disarmament, and the Montana freeze initiative was born.

By December 1981, before most other freeze groups had even formed, 11,000 Montanans had signed freeze petitions. In the end, although only 18,000 signatures were required, organizers turned in a total of 32,453—representing one out of every 25 residents of the state.

"We've been mad about nuclear weapons for a long time now," says freeze worker Deb Thomas in Missoula. As she points out, 200 of the nation's 1000 Minuteman ICBMs are based in Montana. "We've been waiting for the rest of the country to catch up with us."

If this sounds strange to outsiders, the fact is that Montana has a recent history of dissent on nuclear-related issues. In 1978, Montana voted in a state referendum to prohibit the construction of nu-

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clear power plants without a majority vote of the population. Two years later, they voted not to allow nuclear waste to be stored in the state.

"The core of the issue in Montana right now is the MX," says freeze staffer Mike Kadas, who recently won the Democratic nomination for a seat in the state legislature running on an anti-MX plank. "But for us it's just a foot in the door to begin discussing broader disarmament issues. We're going to be discussing them between now and November."

The Montana freeze campaign has spent about \$1000 so far, collected by charging admission at dances and raffling off a turkey and a lamb donated by John McNamer.

RHODE ISLAND: Rhode Island's referendum emerged from the state legislature by a lopsided vote of both houses. It is supported by Governor J. Joseph Garrahy, a Democrat, and by all four members of the congressional delegation.

The freeze campaign, which was begun by the state American Friends Service Committee and Women for a Non-Nuclear Future, now has a full-time coordinator, Jim Moran. Freeze workers are busy canvassing neighborhoods to identify freeze supporters and make sure they are registered to vote in November.

Although there have been no polls, organizers expect the referendum to pass.

Moran says the local campaign got a big lift in August, when the *Providence Journal* ran a front-page story about a new Pentagon study for fighting a "limited" nuclear war. The headline read:

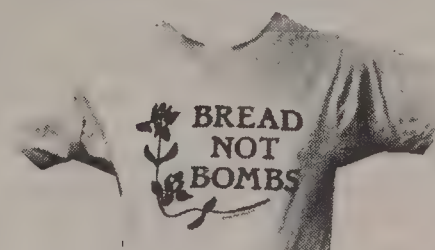
PENTAGON STRATEGISTS
ENVISION VICTORY WITH
LOSS OF NO MORE THAN
20 MILLION LIVES

"We got more of a reaction to that than to anything we could have done ourselves," says Moran. "A lot of people who were concerned but more or less dormant came forward and got involved with the campaign."

Moran says the Rhode Island freeze campaign hasn't encountered any organized opposition to date, but he expects that to change before November. "So much of it is out of our hands," he says. "For example, Reagan could go on national TV the night before the vote and say that negotiations in Geneva are about to turn a corner and that a nuclear freeze would tie the administration's hands."

"All we can do," says Moran, "is be ready." —George Palmer with Michael Kazin and Steve Burkholder

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CALIFORNIA

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The story of the California freeze campaign begins like a patriotic fairy tale. Not long after the 1980 elections, Jo and Nick Seidita of suburban Los Angeles were amazed to read that 60 percent of the voters in western Massachusetts had called for the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to stop building nuclear weapons—this, while Reagan was carrying their districts by a healthy majority. The Seiditas, activists in Democratic campaigns of the 1960s and 1970s convinced their local Unitarian Universalist Society to spend \$2900 to launch a similar initiative in California. By June, 1981, bands of volunteers were taking their first awkward steps in every large county in the state.

Electoral success in this mini-nation of 24 million, however, requires more than determination at the grass roots. Enter Harold Willens, a 67-year-old millionaire businessman whose interest in nuclear disarmament stretches back to a visit to Hiroshima and Nagasaki in September 1945, six weeks after the bombs were dropped. Willens joined the freeze campaign a year ago as chairman because, as he explains, "I wanted to raise this starv-

ing waif and convert it into a robust adolescent." He wooed stars like Paul Newman, Ed Asner, and a score of Nobel laureates, donated \$25,000 of his own money, and began to raise a peace chest from wealthy associates.

From December to April, volunteers in all of California's 58 counties collected over 750,000 signatures to put the freeze on the ballot, where it is listed as Proposition 12. Endorsements flooded in from a wide array of individuals and organizations: the archbishop of San Francisco; the state coordinating bodies of Jews, Methodists, and Presbyterians; seven county boards of supervisors and 19 city councils; the state Democratic Party; the Sierra Club; many large unions (although, because of AFL-CIO instructions, not the California Federation of Labor); and such unlikely groups as the San Francisco Bar Association and the California State Grange.

Success, however, did not come without internal conflict. Willens's mode of politics often clashed with the ideas and style of local activists.

Willens is concerned that the movement avoid appearing the captive of what

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Using PACs To Play Hardball

he calls, "a stupid, silly fringe group whose efforts could be contained in a telephone booth." Though a veteran backer of liberal causes and candidates, he sternly resists linking the freeze with issues like El Salvador or unemployment. "This is the only potentially terminal problem of our time," he insists. "Let's first deal with human survival, then we can deal with all the other problems."

At the start, Willens tried to operate the campaign like a corporation. Major decisions on literature, publicity, and strategy were made at the top, in Los Angeles, and volunteers and staff around the state were expected to fall into step.

In Northern California, where grassroots organizers dominate the campaign, a word from Willens was not sufficient. There, many organizers wanted to draw a connection between a healthy military and a sick economy. Radical or not, most freeze activists demanded some control over the direction of the campaign. At a packed Berkeley meeting in late February, organizers from the north jostled angrily for two hours with Willens's assistant, Porter Briggs, before he left to catch the last plane back to headquarters in Los Angeles.

However, these divisions never sapped the momentum of signature gathering, and, by the spring, the ingredients of a compromise were clear. Both sides agreed to put leaders of California's varied constituencies in formal charge, while Willens continued as the campaign's main spokesman. A directorate largely composed of middle-class white men was dissolved and replaced with a 43-member campaign committee which is 40 percent female and includes leaders of black and Latino communities. One of its more active members is the Reverend William Campbell, a black minister who directs an interdenominational conference of over 250 churches in Los Angeles County.

With the internal fires dampened, California freeze workers anticipate a fall campaign that will be more difficult than the spring's euphoria suggested. Funds for a full-fledged media campaign have been difficult to raise. Two opposition groups—Californians for a Strong America and Californians for Verifiable Arms Reduction—have surfaced and, with White House blessings, plan to run ads depicting the freeze as impulsive and dangerous.

The polls, once promising, are now ambiguous. A Mervin Field survey taken in late August shows that only 51 percent of the population had even heard of the freeze referendum—26 percent in favor of it, 21 percent opposed, and 4 percent undecided. Nevertheless, most freeze activists expect their unique coalition to carry Proposition 12.

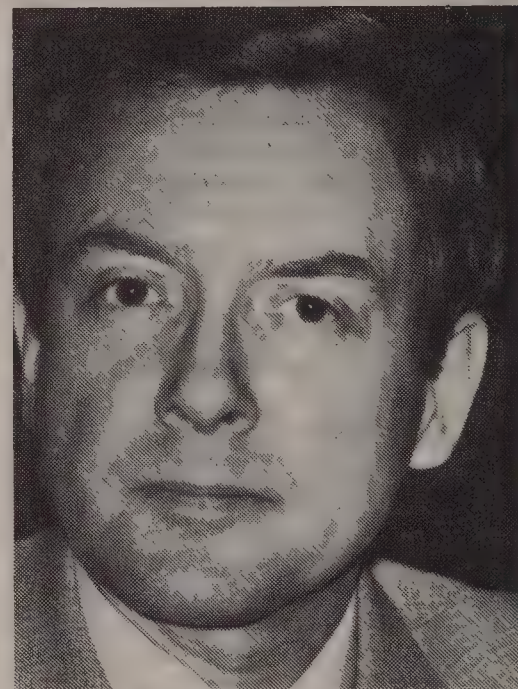
—Michael Kazin

Less than a week after the U.S. House of Representatives voted down the freeze resolution, Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, sent a letter to organizers around the country. Attached was a breakdown of who had been for and against the resolution on the crucial 204-202 vote.

"The real vote," Kehler wrote, "will come this fall, when millions of freeze supporters in thousands of communities across the country assess candidates for Congress on the basis of their stand on the freeze."

Kehler's letter addressed the subject of congressional elections in general terms because the national freeze campaign does not support or oppose candidates. However, about eight other organizations—political action committees, or PACs—have taken more direct action by targeting those candidates who opposed the freeze and supporting those who backed it with financial contributions, volunteers, and advertisements. Several of these PACs are associated with groups such as the Council for a Livable World and Friends of the Earth, both of which lobbied on behalf of the freeze.

John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World, says his organization, via the newly formed PeacePAC, is supporting 14 Democratic and two Republican house candidates who have "good records" on the freeze and arms control. The PAC hopes to raise at

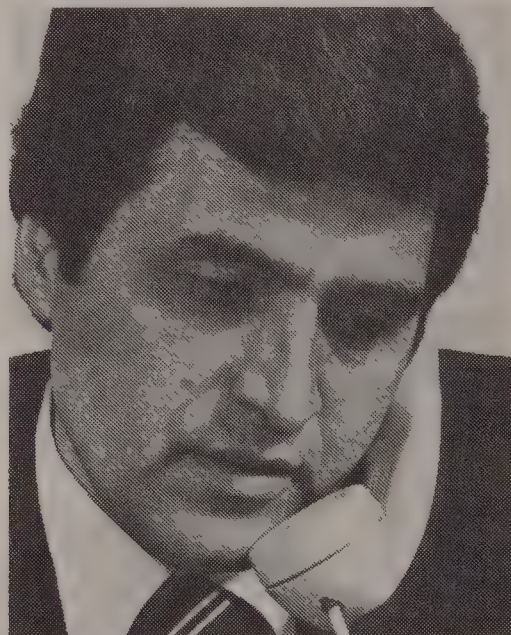


Utah Senator Orrin Hatch

least \$100,000 for this effort and expects to add several candidates to its list. The council is also supporting 11 Democratic and two Republican candidates for Senate. It hopes to raise \$275,000 for these races.

On September 17, PeacePAC announced that it had targeted the "doomsday dozen"—12 House members who are opposed to the freeze. The Democrats on the list are Bill Chapell of Florida and Samuel Stratton of New York. The Republicans include Robert Michel of Illinois, the House minority leader; William Carney and John LeBoutillier of New York; Don Clausen and John Rousset of California; James Coyne of Pennsylvania; Larry Craig of Idaho; Dan Marriott of Utah; Denny Smith of Oregon; and Frank Wolf of Virginia.

The National Committee for an Effective Congress, which in the past has given financial support to liberal candidates of both major parties, has made the freeze a major criterion for determining who gets support this year. The organization has targeted for defeat 13 Republican incumbents who voted against the freeze and who are regarded as being particularly vulnerable. Its list includes many of the "doomsday dozen"—Coyne, Clausen, Craig, LeBoutillier, Michel, Smith, and Wolf—as well as Representatives Eugene Atkinson of Pennsylvania; Jim Dunn and Harold Sawyer of Michigan; Benjamin Gilman of New York; Stanford Parris of Virginia; and Arlan



New Mexico Senator Harrison Schmitt

Stangeland of Minnesota. None of the 53 Democrats who voted against the freeze was targeted, the organization said, because none is expected to have a close race.

Several other newly formed political action committees have also pledged to raise funds to put more pro-freeze members in Congress. One of them, the Nuclear Freeze Political Action Committee, was founded in April 1982 by Donald Spector, a former assistant to Senator Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York, with the intent of bringing some "political clout" to the freeze. "PACs are the way you play political hardball," Spector says.

A bipartisan advisory board will set guidelines for the PAC and provide it with up-to-date information on congressional races and legislation. Through direct mail solicitations and benefit concerts, Spector says, the Nuclear Freeze PAC hopes to raise \$1 million, which it will use for contributions to pro-freeze candidates.

Both SANE and Friends of the Earth have affiliated PACs which are concentrating on the upcoming elections. SANEPAC, according to director Chad Dobson, will make contributions of up to \$1000 to House candidates who support the freeze, boast strong arms control re-

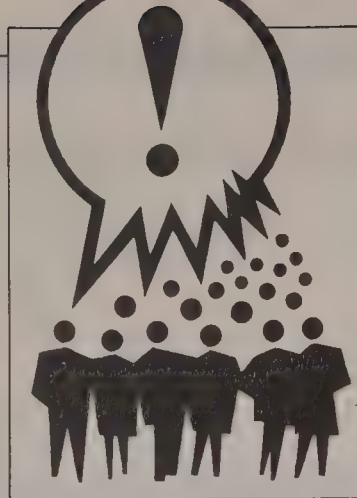
cords, and are in close races.

Friends of the Earth PAC, says its director, Bob Chlopak, is supporting candidates in 48 House and Senate races on the basis of their positions on arms control, energy, and environmental issues. Chlopak says that his PAC will distribute \$130,000 in contributions, run fund-raisers for individual candidates, and provide consulting, staffworkers, and volunteers. "The freeze," he says, "is an issue that is really turning out a lot of people."

Citizens for Common Sense in National Defense, founded in July by Philip Stern of the Stern Foundation, will "go after the real superhawks," according to Rosemary Cribben, the group's executive director.

This PAC has targeted three Republican senators—Harrison Schmitt of New Mexico, Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, and Orrin Hatch of Utah—and Senate candidate David Emery, a Republican representative from Maine. It will produce radio and television spots urging voters in those states to defeat these four and support pro-freeze challengers. Cribben says that Citizens for Common Sense also expects to participate in several House races.

Both the Fund for a Democratic Majority—sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts—and



the Independent Action Political Action Committee are using support for the freeze to determine which candidates to back.

The findings of one recent poll indicate that the strategy of targeting House and Senate members who oppose the freeze may be productive. In July, pollster Louis Harris reported that "the deep concern over nuclear devastation has reached the point where 56 percent of the voters now say they would vote against a candidate for Congress this fall, even if they agreed with him or her on nearly every other issue . . . if that candidate wanted to escalate the nuclear arms race."

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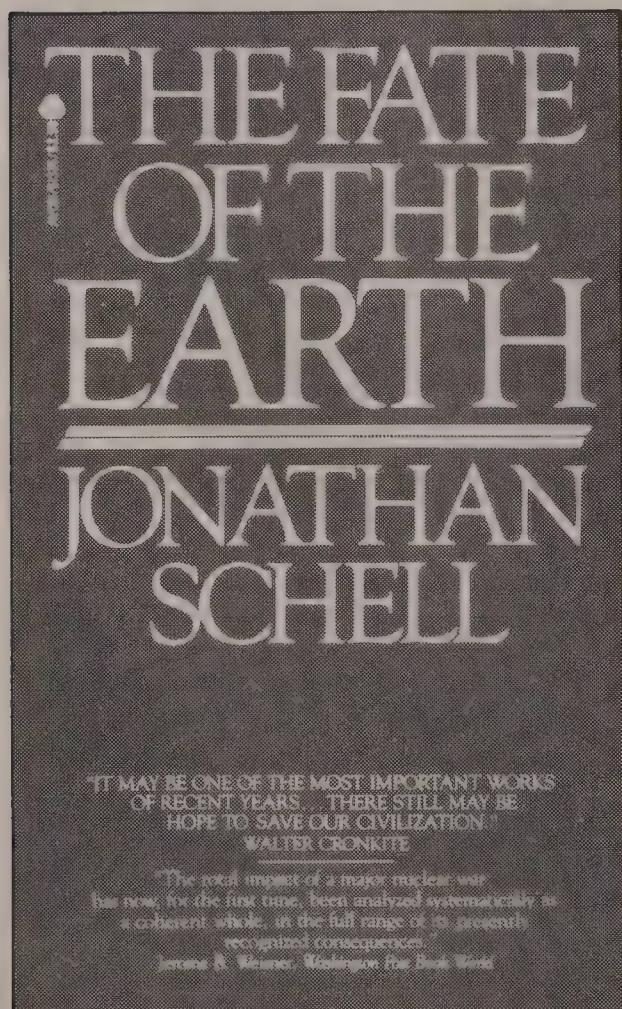
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MONTANA

To Silence One Silo

There are 200 Minuteman missiles stored in concrete silos in Montana, all of them on land once belonging to farmers and ranchers. So when Montana activists Mark Anderlik and Karl Zanzig decided last year to launch a campaign to shut down one of these silos, they set about looking for a farmer or rancher to help them. They found him in David Hastings.

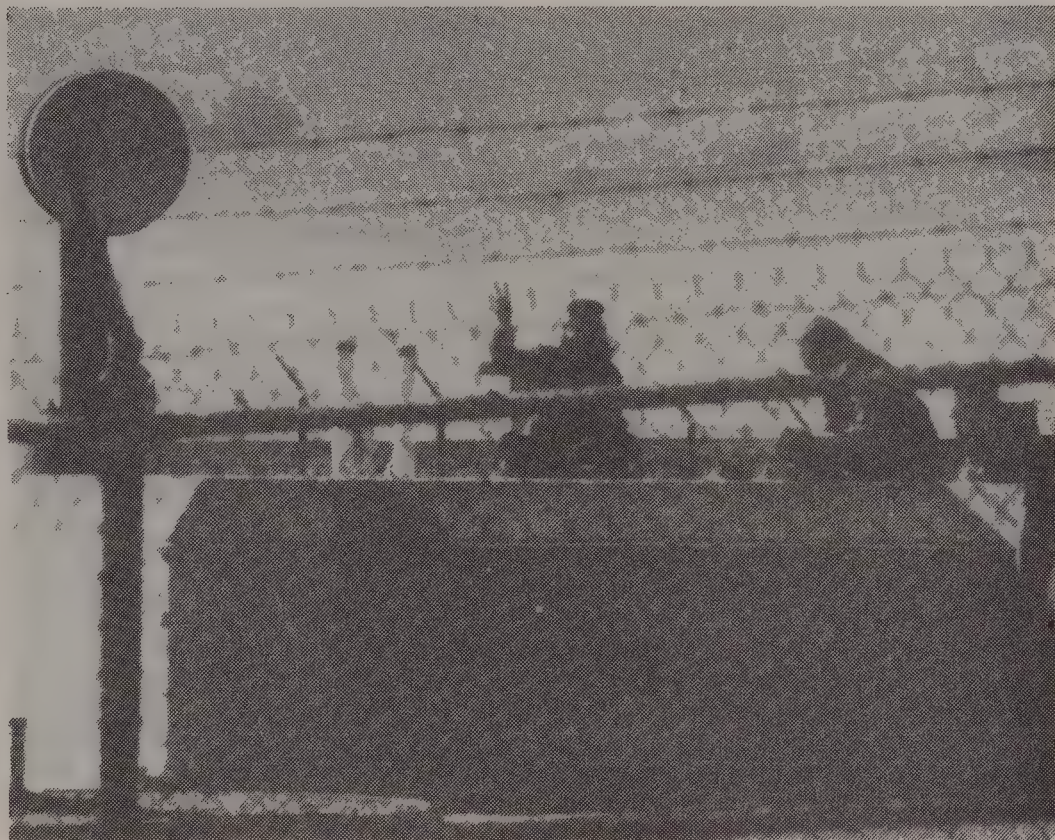
Hastings, the owner of a 460-acre grain farm near Conrad, 60 miles north of Great Falls, was upset about having an intercontinental ballistic missile buried in the middle of his farm. "One day, 22 years ago," the 55-year-old farmer recalls, "the Air Force drove in and said, 'We're going to put it right here.'" The way the government condemned five acres of his land and constructed a miniature military state in his backyard still rankles him. "I wasn't antagonistic toward the Air Force until they brought those damn armored cars down here with machine guns mounted on the roof. That says to me they considered the civilian population the enemy."

Hastings agreed to help Anderlik and Zanzig because he is convinced the missiles may one day be used. "Controlling nuclear weapons, or any other nuclear process," he says, "is beyond man's capability."

On June 5, as Hastings and 13 other supporters watched, Anderlik and Zanzig walked along the access road to the silo on Hastings's farm—officially part of nearby Malmstrom Air Force Base—sowing wheat as they approached. "This was a symbolic gesture," Anderlik says. "We want to turn this site back to a productive purpose."

The two men, both in their twenties, then scaled the 10-foot-high chain-link fence topped with three strands of barbed wire that surrounds the silo, sat down on the silo's lid, and waited. Forty-five minutes later, Air Force security guards arrived and arrested the pair. They were taken to a launch-control facility five miles away and then to Cascade County jail, where they were held over the weekend before being released on their own recognizance.

During the brief protest—believed to be the first act of civil disobedience ever



Before the arrest: Anderlik (l.) and Zanzig atop a Montana missile silo

committed at a Montana missile silo—Hastings had a gun pointed at him by Air Force security guards and was ordered to approach with his hands raised over his head. After he identified himself, he was told to leave. "I was standing on my own land," he says, "just watching."

At their trial in July, Anderlik and Zanzig presented their own defense. Both men had participated in previous civil disobedience actions at Malmstrom and had received letters barring them from base property. They were found guilty of illegal reentry. On August 18, they were sentenced to six months in a minimum-security federal prison.

The act of civil disobedience at Hastings's farm marked the official launching of the Silence One Silo campaign. The project, Anderlik says, is aimed at a specific and tangible goal—the closing of one missile site. Once a silo is dismantled, the campaign will end.

"We want to apply enough public pressure to shut down one of these silos," says Bryan Black, another Montana activist involved in the campaign. "It would be a

first step toward disarmament."

The Silence One Silo campaign is a project of the Species Life House, a resistance community in Missoula. Its members plan other demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience to increase public opposition to the Minuteman missiles. But for now, Initiative 91—as the freeze referendum on Montana's November ballot is known—is the main focus of the state's nuclear disarmament movement. After the vote, Anderlik, Zanzig, and Black will try to convince other activists to adopt Silence One Silo as their next major project. "We're getting hold of something that at least has a little bit of practicality to it," Anderlik says.

As for Hastings, he has not had much of a response from his neighbors since the June protest—though one came up to him afterward and shook his hand. "They try to ignore the issue," Hastings says. "Everyone around here basically considers themselves expendable. The attitude is that it will be quick—that if there is any type of nuclear war, we'll be the first to go."

—David Corn

Links To The Junior League

I feel it is so important that this issue, nuclear disarmament, rise up in Middle America—that it is not seen as another idea from the two coasts. If it happens in Middle America, they'll pay attention to it."

And that, says Betty Bumpers, wife of Senator Dale Bumpers, Democrat of Arkansas, is why she founded Peace Links—a national organization that is attempting to get women's groups, such as PTAs, garden clubs, and Junior Leagues, to put the nuclear weapons issue on their agendums. From its headquarters in Washington, D.C., Peace Links furnishes information and speakers to interested groups, with the goal of creating a "network" of women's clubs united against the nuclear arms race.

Peace Links, which started in January, has offices in seven states, mostly in the Midwest and South, and hopes to be in all 50 by the end of 1983. Its advisory council includes officers of the American Association of University Women, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Rural American Women, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Bumpers, 57 years old, says her own involvement began last year when her youngest child, Brooke, went off to college. She found herself with time to think, and, more and more, she found she was thinking the unthinkable.

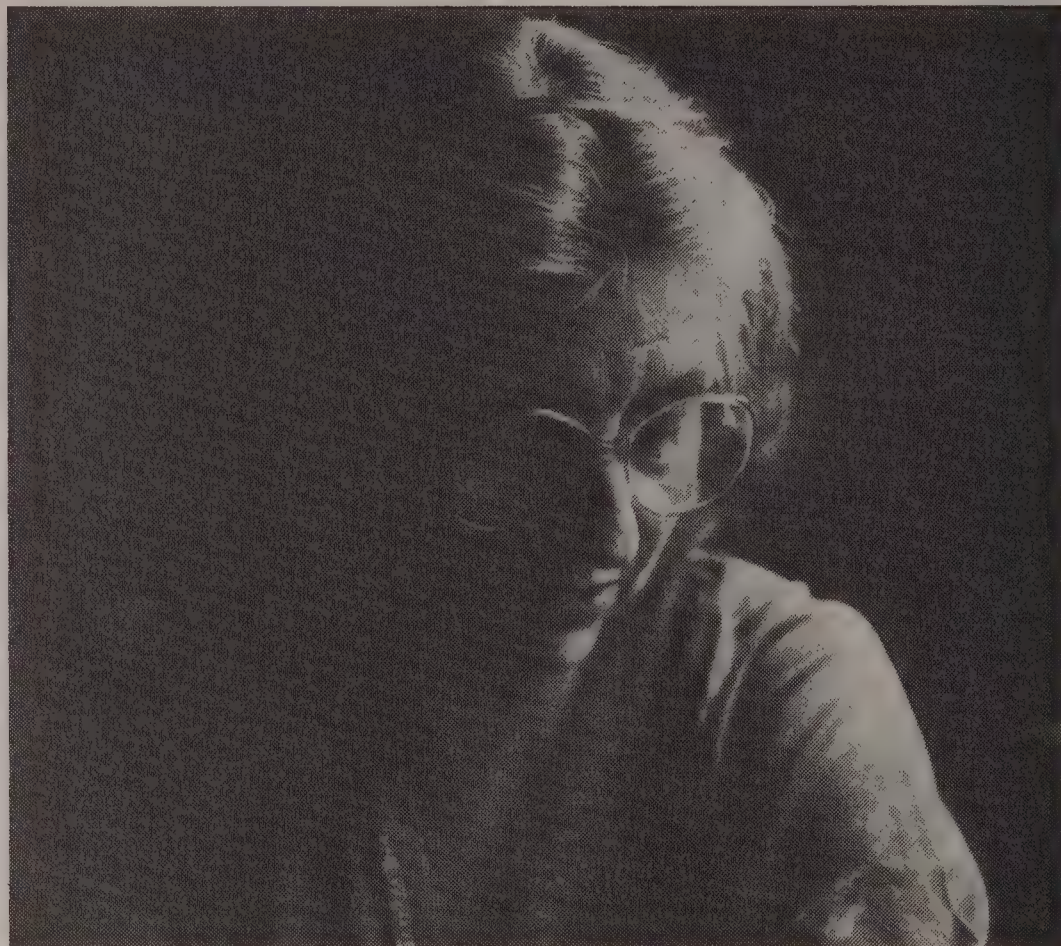
"I had spent my life devoted to my family, though I was a schoolteacher. Like most women, I just assumed someone would always take care of me. At first I indulged in some artsy-craftsy hobbies which kept my hands busy but left me with a free mind. I couldn't stop thinking about what a nuclear confrontation would mean.

"Then my daughter pulled it all together for me when she articulated her fears. She wanted to know how our family would find each other in a nuclear war. I realized how many young people really don't think they have a future. I knew I could sit back no longer."

At first, Bumpers felt that being married to a U.S. senator might do her cause more harm than good.

"When I first got this idea," she says, "I tried to give it away in Arkansas. I thought it might be perceived as partisan with my name involved. I was afraid we might lack support from all sides if I were at the helm. But Peace Links needed visible leadership, so I am here."

Peace Links's only political aim is to



Betty Bumpers: "If it happens in Middle America, they'll pay attention to it."

stop the arms race. "We urge women to go about it however they want, whether it's supporting a freeze initiative or whatever," says Bumpers. "We are simply saying, 'Let's find another way.' We are attempting to prove that concern is alive and festering in small towns, in the rural South, in the farm and sunbelts, and smack in the middle of this country. I've found, in my travels, that women have a sense their children are in jeopardy. Instead of being paralyzed about it, we're trying to give them the information so they will feel comfortable participating in trying to change things.

"I get angry when I hear people saying this issue has no women leaders. Let me tell you, there are women leaders in every community, in every state in this country. We met with 50 women in Nevada who had stopped the MX in their own backyard. They're energized and ready to do more. They just need direction and information. That's what Peace Links is all about."

Mrs. Bumpers has also recruited other wives of senators and congressmen into Peace Links activities. She says it has already had an impact on some of their

husbands, including her own.

"This is a very difficult issue for men, because they realize nuclear war is one thing they have no protection against," she says. "They've always relied on their strength and might and power to protect themselves and their families. All that means nothing in a nuclear confrontation.

"My own husband says he totally underestimated the sensitivity of women to this issue, but we have to take some responsibility for that. We haven't participated enough, and, in the end, the people give direction to their leaders."

In general, Senator Bumpers has been a supporter of arms control efforts. He supported the SALT II treaty, but he sponsored both the Kennedy-Hatfield and the administration-backed Jackson-Warner freeze resolutions.

Betty Bumpers says she'd be doing this regardless of where her husband stands on the issue. "National security has for too long been left in the hands of a very few people. But we are awakening to a situation we families don't want to face. One thing we women have always known is that we have an alternative to war."

—Michele Willens

Round-Up

LOS ALAMOS, NEW MEXICO: On August 17, the Los Alamos County Council voted 6-1 against a measure that would have placed a freeze referendum on the November ballot. According to Neil Seeley, the county administrator, the council rejected the referendum because it was afraid people elsewhere would place undue emphasis on a vote in Los Alamos, the birthplace of the atomic bomb.

"It was the feeling that any vote of this nature by the citizens of Los Alamos, no matter which way it went," Seeley says, "would be looked upon as a vote by a city of experts in the field. This would be an erroneous picture. In fact, there are probably only a handful of experts in Los Alamos."

Molly Brown of Citizens for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze believes this is not the only reason the council rejected the measure. "It would have attracted a lot of attention to Los Alamos," she says. "And that's something they don't want to do." Citizens for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze is considering a petition drive that would require the council to place a freeze referendum on the ballot.

MEDIA, PENNSYLVANIA: Five members of the Brandywine Peace Community in suburban Philadelphia were convicted September 1 in Montgomery County Court of trespassing and given a choice of sentences: a \$200 fine or 30 days in jail. Justice Donald Riehl gave Robert Smith, Janice Hall, Madeline McMahon, Raymond Torres, and the Reverend Dean Snyder 30 days to decide between the two sentences.

The five, who have decided to appeal the conviction, were arrested during an August 25 demonstration at General Electric's Space Systems Division in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, where they were protesting the production of nuclear weapons and their support systems, specifically the Defense Satellite Communications System III.

On the day of the demonstration, a story in the *Philadelphia News* revealed that last April members of the Brandywine Peace Community had stolen four Mark 12A re-entry vehicle casings used on Minuteman missiles from the General Electric plant. "We took them from what appeared to be a scrap-metal pile to use as educational tools," says Beth Centz of the peace community, "and to say, 'This is where you taxpayer dollars go and the threat of nuclear war is real. It's tangible. You can touch it.' " The casings have been displayed several times in public,

according to Centz. So far, GE has declined to press charges.

BOULDER, COLORADO: The Mountain States Legal Foundation, a self-described "conservative public-interest legal foundation" once headed by Secretary of the Interior James Watt, has brought suit in federal district court to block the printing and distribution of a brochure that examines how a nuclear attack would affect the city of Denver and nearby Boulder County.

William Millor, president and chief legal officer of the foundation, calls the pamphlet a "use of taxpayers' dollars to advocate one side of a very political, partisan issue that is very complicated." He says the brochure urges Coloradans to lobby their congressmen for multilateral disarmament.

According to Boulder County Attorney Ann Raisch, the booklet, which was prepared by a committee appointed by the Boulder County commissioners and cost taxpayers approximately \$5600, lists "alternatives to nuclear war that people are working on" and contains a list of people, including congressmen and President Reagan, to whom concerned individuals can write. "I don't think this is a disarmament booklet," says Raisch. "It is intended to wake up people to nuclear war and let them know how they can get involved, if they want to."

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: On August 6, the Peace Museum in Chicago opened the first U.S. exhibition of original drawings made by survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings. The drawings depict post-blast scenes from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Entitled "The Unforgettable Fire," the exhibit, which

runs through November, contains 70 drawings on loan from the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation and the Nagasaki International Cultural Hall.

Marianne Philbin, communications director for the year-old Peace Museum, says that the exhibit marks the first time that the original drawings have been displayed outside Japan. This exhibit "has drawn more people to the museum than any other exhibit," she says. "There's been a good steady flow of people through here. Some people are really affected. They come out to the reception areas in tears."

NORTHFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS: About 75 high school students, their teachers, and other concerned adults attended the first annual meeting of the Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War, or STOP, August 25-26 at the Northfield Mount Hermon School, a private high school. The students and teachers had come from eight states to discuss future plans and attend workshops on organizing in high school, according to Warren Goldstein, STOP's network coordinator.

At the meeting, STOP decided to try to double its membership once every three months in the coming year—it now has 42 chapters representing several hundred high school students and teachers across the nation—and to recruit more actively among public school students, who now account for only one-third of the group's membership.

NEWTON, KANSAS: For the past two years, members of the New Creation Fellowship Church and other nuclear disarmament activists have held a vigil the first Sunday of every month at the Titan



"Unforgettable Fire": From a Chicago exhibit of drawings by A-bomb survivors

II missile site outside Potwin, 30 miles northeast of Newton. The group originally received permission from the commander of nearby McConnell Air Force base to stage monthly vigils at the site, but last July the local sheriff told the activists that he did not want to see them at the missile site again.

On August 1, the group did meet again—this time 40 feet from the missile site. "We just got permission to go on the land of a farmer that is next to the site," says Gordon Houser of the church group "It's as good as being there. His farm runs right up to the site." Houser says that the activists will continue to hold the monthly vigil on the farm next to the site.

ALBANY, NEW YORK: Every Friday morning for the last four years, members of the Knolls Action Project have leafletted workers at the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory, which is responsible for the Trident submarine's propulsion system. Early this summer General Electric, which manages the Department of Energy-owned lab, prohibited the group from leafletting on the entrance road to the plant, located in Niskayuna, outside Albany.

This move came three weeks after Karen Rembert, a secretary who had worked on and off at the lab for 19 years, quit her job, noting that the Knolls Action Project had caused her to reconsider working for a "company whose research leads, in part, to the means of destroying whole populations."

Louise McNeilly of the Knolls Action Project says that after Rembert quit, the group got a call from the chief of security at GE, requesting that it stop leafletting on company property. This forced organizers to leaflet farther away from the lab at a location near fast-moving traffic.

The Knolls Action Project, says McNeilly, has enlisted the aid of the New York Civil Liberties Union in trying to regain access to the lab. "We have tried to work out a compromise with General Electric," she says, "but it hasn't worked so far. We're trying to avoid legal action, but we will go to court, if necessary."

CLEVELAND, OHIO: On November 2, local residents will vote on a ballot measure that would bar using public funds for civil defense. The Ohio Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign believes this to be the first referendum of its kind in the nation. The "appropriation and/or expenditure of public funds by the City of Cleveland for civil defense measures against nuclear or thermonuclear attack," the resolution reads, "are wasteful, unlawful and not in the public interest."

The ballot proposal was initiated by

City Council President George Forbes, after the local freeze committee discovered that Cleveland law prohibited a freeze initiative. "The only way to raise the issue was to go through a finance question," says Polly Duncan of the Ohio Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. The



Rembert: Quitting for conscience

referendum has been supported by the Cleveland June 12 Task Force, an organization of individuals from various peace, disarmament, and religious groups who worked on the June 12 rally. The task force, says Duncan, plans to concentrate on voter registration and leafletting among lower-income people.

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA: A dozen activists from throughout the South spent the week of August 16-22 at the War Resisters League's "Southeast Organizing Training Program," attending workshops on organizing skills and issues, including strategies for the nuclear disarmament movement. "The organizers will take these skills back to communities like Morgantown, West Virginia, and New Orleans, Louisiana, and increase their effectiveness," says Steve Summerford of the War Resisters League Southeast. He says that no specific issue was emphasized at the conference. "Each organizer will work on issues important in their own community. Some will go back to work on the freeze; some will work on jobs with peace campaigns; and some will work on the connection between militarism and racism."

ASHLAND, OREGON: Voters in Ashland will be given a chance November 2 to declare their city a "nuclear-free zone." By a 4-2 vote, the city council passed a ballot proposal in August that would create a city ordinance that prohibits putting any nuclear weapons, nuclear power plants, or their components in Ashland. Violation of the ordinance would be punishable

by a \$500 fine or six months in jail.

Two cities in Maryland—Garrett Park and Sykesville—have already passed similar resolutions. The ballot measure is supported by Southern Oregon Citizen Action for Lasting Security, which collected over 1200 signatures to bring the proposal before the council.

"I think it is clearly unconstitutional," says Councilman Don Laws, "but the purpose is not so much to make Ashland a nuclear-free zone, as it is to start a nationwide grass-roots movement that would have an impact on nuclear weapons production in the United States and the whole world." Laws says that the measure has a strong possibility of passing. "Ashland is currently a de facto nuclear-free zone, and a lot of people here would like to make it official."

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Two mainstream organizations have joined the nuclear disarmament movement—one old and one new. The former is Common Cause, the 12-year-old lobby with 220,000 members, best known for its work in the area of campaign finances.

As a result of a poll that showed its members were becoming increasingly concerned with the arms race, Common Cause recently adopted arms control as a priority issue. The group will conduct a series of workshops across the country this fall on how to raise the arms-control issue during congressional elections, according to Common Cause lobbyist Jay Hedlund. He says that Common Cause will also lobby the next congress on arms-control issues.

The new group is Citizens Against Nuclear War, or CAN, which plans to assist various organizations, professional associations, and unions that have taken a position in support of arms control, according to Karen Mulhauser, the group's executive director.

This summer CAN started by recruiting groups that have a combined membership of over six million: the National Education Association, Americans for Democratic Action, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, the United States Student Association, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, and Environmental Action. Mulhauser says CAN will "promote cooperative efforts between organizations working against nuclear war and national membership organizations."

● *Let Us Know What You Think* ●
Send letters to the editor. Our new address is 298 Fifth Ave., Room 512, New York, NY 10001.

Farewell To Arms Control

In an administration where the Secretary of the Interior opposes preservation of wildlife, it is only logical that the officials in charge of arms control should be less than enthusiastic about arms control.

The cast is truly remarkable.

Retired Lieutenant General Edward Rowny, chief negotiator for strategic arms talks, once called SALT, now START. The Joint Chiefs of Staff representative on the U.S. delegation at SALT II, he resigned in the summer of 1979 to testify against the treaty before the Senate, even though the entire JCS had called it a "modest and useful" agreement.

Paul Nitze, chief negotiator for theater-nuclear arms talks, covering intermediate-range weapons such as the American missiles based in Western Europe—including the forthcoming Pershing II and Ground-Launched Cruise Missiles—and the Soviet missiles aimed at Western Europe, the SS-4s, -5s and -20s. For 32 years now, Nitze has consistently, at times melodramatically, overestimated Soviet military strength and has advocated a crash American military buildup in response.

In 1950 Nitze wrote a State Department policy paper called NSC-68, which became America's blueprint for rearmament during the cold war period. He had a heavy hand in drafting the 1957 Gaither Report, which warned of "an increasing threat" of a Soviet missile attack that "may become critical in 1959 or early 1960." He was the spirit behind the Committee on the Present Danger, a well-funded outfit formed in 1976—32 of whose members now serve in the Reagan administration—to fight detente and promote higher defense budgets.

Last year, before taking his present job, Nitze told *Los Angeles Times* reporter Robert Scheer that arms control was a fine goal but that we had to rebuild our strength first. When asked how long that would take, Nitze replied, "About 10 years."

Kaplan writes frequently on defense and is the author of a book on nuclear strategy and strategists to be published this spring.

Behind the scenes, in the Pentagon, the U.S. position on arms control is directed by Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle. Before the 1980 election, Perle had served for a decade as Senator Henry Jackson's defense adviser, fighting doggedly for more nuclear weapons and against SALT, writing speeches for his boss that compared SALT II to Neville Chamberlain's appeasement accord with Hitler at Munich, and composing articles under his own name that likened the present period to 1938 and the Soviets to the Nazis.

Finally, as a symbolic touch, there is Eugene Rostow, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Like Nitze, he is a founder of the Committee on the Present Danger. And like Perle, he likes to say that we live in a prewar rather than a postwar era, that the Soviets are hell-bent on taking over the world, that we must build every weapon we can lay our hands on to prevent them from doing so. A number of wags now call the agency that Rostow heads the "Arms Uncontrol and Rearmament Agency."

Obviously, arms control is hardly the order of the day. Indeed, it would not have been an order at all, but for the overwhelming protests against the NATO theater-nuclear force plan by millions of West Europeans and the early signs that the waves of dissent were about to hit the home shores as well.

It was this political threat that compelled Reagan to deliver a speech last November—broadcast simultaneously here and to wide audiences in Western Europe—proclaiming arms control as a worthy goal of his administration. It was the first speech on defense given by Reagan that did not appear to sound the alarms for a nuclear Pearl Harbor. Before the speech, during nearly a year in office, Reagan had not even started preparatory work on arms control.

In the speech, Reagan outlined the U.S. negotiating position for theater-nuclear arms control talks. The U.S. would forgo deploying Pershing II and Ground-Launched Cruise Missiles (then still in development) if the Soviets dismantled all their SS-4, SS-5, and SS-20 missiles (which already existed), including those that could hit China because they could

also hit Western Europe. Obviously, it was an unacceptable trade from the Soviet viewpoint. Yet high Pentagon officials took special pains to tell reporters, on a background basis, that this was our only offer, that we had no fallback position.

It took several months more for a strategic arms control negotiating position to be hammered out. A slightly less inflexible, but still unbalanced, offer emerged. Both sides were to make substantial reductions in the number of warheads on land-based missiles (of which the Soviets now have a larger number), but no reductions in submarine-launched warheads or gravity bombs (of which the U.S. has a great many more).

Equal levels were also to be set in the "throw weight" of the land-based missiles—a measure indicating the gross weight, in pounds, of the top stage of a missile. The Soviets have a huge lead over the U.S. in this area, but it is fairly meaningless, since—owing to more efficient rocket engines, lighter computer-guidance systems, and better technology generally—the U.S. gets much more explosive power per pound of throw weight, to say nothing of better accuracy, than does the U.S.S.R.

In any event, the proposal would do nothing to halt the full-scale deployment of any new nuclear weapons system that the Defense Department has on the drawing boards.

Of course, the backgrounds of the American negotiators and the opening rounds of the negotiations may prove irrelevant in the final analysis. If the nuclear issue emerges as critical in the 1984 election, Reagan, or whomever else the Republicans nominate, may suddenly feel a keen political need to be perceived as the peace candidate. In that case, a SALT III (or START I) treaty would be a chip of great value, and to hell with the Committee on the Present Danger.

For the time being, however, one need not be a jaded cynic to be more than just a bit skeptical. It took massive public pressure to put arms control on the Reagan agenda, and one cannot help feeling that the chief purpose behind its placement there is simply to exploit and defuse that pressure.

ITALY

Comiso At The Crossroads

The Italian government's decision to go ahead with plans to install 112 cruise missiles at an abandoned airfield in the southeastern Sicilian town of Comiso has set the stage for a dramatic confrontation with this country's peace movement. The deployment of the new NATO missiles—the first on the European continent (a concurrent deployment is planned for England)—is not scheduled to take place until late next year. But already activists in Italy are organizing to block construction of the base.

Last October, and then again in April of this year, tens of thousands of people gathered in Comiso to protest the planned deployment of nuclear weapons on Sicilian soil. More recently, there have been smaller sit-in demonstrations at the gates to the abandoned Magliocco airport. And this spring, peace groups on the island collected one million signatures, representing more than half the adult population of Sicily, calling for a halt to construction of the base.

The planned NATO installation is not without its local boosters. The Socialist mayor Comiso, the town council, and many of the region's businessmen are eagerly awaiting the influx of money that would accompany the construction and operation of the base. Some 5000 servicemen and technicians, many of them Americans paid in U.S. dollars, will reportedly be stationed there. Not surprisingly, the Businessmen's Association of Comiso unanimously approved a resolution last year calling the base "necessary for the development of the area's economy."

The Mafia would appear to have an interest as well. The NATO base near Catania, on Sicily's west coast, is often cited as a case in point. When 6500 American soldiers took up their posts there, the Mafia found a ready market for drugs and prostitution. The prospects of tapping new sources of revenue in Comiso may have had something to do with the assassination this spring of Pio La Torre, the Communist Party Secretary for the region and a leading crusader against the cruise-missile base. La Torre was gunned down in May by men who police sources say were paid by the Mafia.



Over 30,000 rallied against NATO cruise missile plans last October in Comiso.

Although the Communist Party has been in the forefront of the campaign against Comiso, and is universally credited with being the driving force behind the Italian peace movement, those opposed to the deployment of cruise missiles come from a broad spectrum of Italian society. A number of religious groups, including the Unitarian Committee for Peace and the Italian Ecumenical Center, have been particularly active in the struggle. And, after the government announced its decision to proceed with the NATO installation last August, an increasing number of Catholics began flocking to the movement. "The desire to say no to war was so enormous it finally exploded," explains Luigi Betazzi, president of the international Catholic association Pax Christi. "The peace movement has grown because there has been greater maturity among the Catholics."

One reason so many Italians may be opposed to building a missile base in Comiso—54 percent of the population, according to one poll taken last year—is its curious location. The stated purpose of installing medium-range missiles in

Western Europe is to counter already existing Soviet SS-20 missiles in Eastern Europe. But Comiso is about as far from the Soviet Union as one can get and still be on Italian soil; a cruise missile fired from there wouldn't even reach Moscow.

Why didn't NATO choose a site further north? One theory, advanced by Pio La Torre before he was killed, is that the missiles at Comiso are not just going to be aimed at the Soviet Union. "Everyone knows the Mediterranean is one of the world's hot spots," La Torre said last October. "These missiles are not going to be pointed north, but toward the south, toward Libya and the Mediterranean over which Reagan wants to maintain supremacy."

Whichever way the missiles are to be aimed, it is clear that the Italian government will have to face considerable opposition from its own citizens. Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini has vowed that the base will be built by the end of 1983. But the *guerrieri della pace*—guerillas of peace, as they are called here—have promised to make Comiso an international symbol.

Picketing For Sergei Batovrin

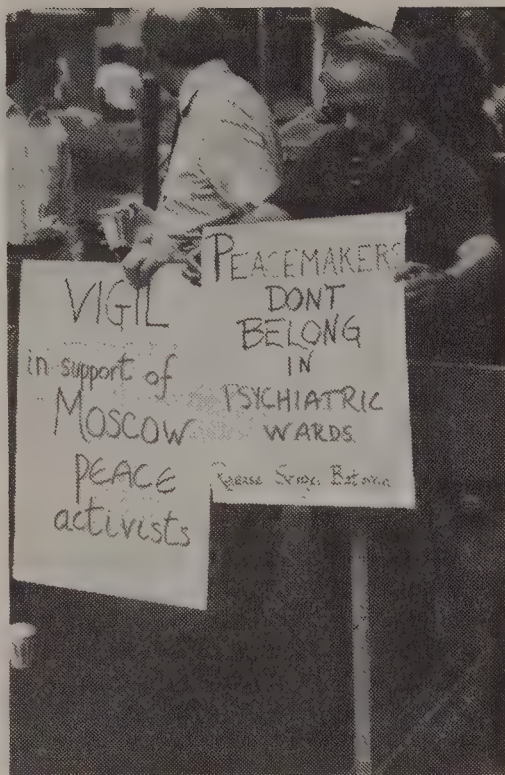
The placards outside the Soviet Mission to the United Nations had a familiar ring: "Free Sergei Batovrin," read one. "Release Sergei Batovrin," said another. But passers-by on the busy New York street, long accustomed to seeing protests there by Jewish, East European and right-wing groups, might have been surprised to know who the demonstrators were.

On August 25, on a sidewalk across the street from the Soviet consulate in mid-Manhattan, about two dozen protesters from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, SANE, the War Resisters League, and Mobilization for Survival, among others—groups not generally known for taking a hard line on the Soviet Union—waved their signs at passing Russian diplomats to protest the arrest of Soviet peace activist Sergei Batovrin and the repression of an independent peace group in the Soviet Union.

While the lunch-hour demonstration continued, four of the activists' were let inside, where they presented the first secretary of the mission, Leonid Bidni, with a letter addressed to Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev, declaring their support for Soviet peace activists who have been jailed and harassed. Bidni reportedly refused to accept the document and told the group—Mike Jendrzejczyk of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Donna Ainsworth of the New Manhattan Project, David McReynolds of the War Resisters League, and Joanne Landy of the West/East Peace and Democracy Project—to send it to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.

The letter, signed by 16 U.S. organizations, charged that the incarceration of Batovrin in a psychiatric hospital "belies the Soviet claim to be 'peace-loving' when independent peace activists—our brothers and sisters in the movement—are labeled 'provocative, illegal and anti-social.'" The letter called Soviet treatment of the activists "a violation of the Helsinki Accords guaranteeing freedom of expression to which the Soviet Union is a signatory."

Batovrin, the son of a Russian diplomat, was arrested in Moscow August 6 by Soviet authorities. In June, Batovrin, who grew up in New York City, and 10 other Soviet citizens had announced the formation of the Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Their goal, they said, was to start a "four-sided dialogue" among the governments and people of both the Soviet Union and the United States, according to



At the Soviet Mission in New York

the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, which monitors international and domestic compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

The activists noted that official Soviet peace organizations "reflect only the government's point of view" and declared their intent to launch an independent citizens campaign for nuclear disarmament. The organizers maintained that they are not dissidents and that their goals coincide with the stated goals of the Soviet government. Petitions supporting the group were circulated in several Soviet cities and attracted more than 200 signatures, according to Mikhail Ostrovsky, a co-founder of the Group to Establish Trust who was allowed to emigrate with his wife in July.

During the summer, organizers of the group met with various forms of harassment. Some members were placed under house arrest. Two were jailed for 15 days in order to prevent them from meeting with westerners. Others were placed under police surveillance. Their telephones were shut off. Visitors were barred from their homes. They were not allowed to demonstrate. They were threatened with criminal proceedings and the loss of their jobs.

On August 5 the group held an exhibit of 88 paintings commemorating Hiroshima Day in the apartment of Yury Medvedkov, who had joined the organization in July. Soviet police closed the ex-

hibit and seized all the paintings. The next day, the Soviet police returned to Medvedkov's apartment and, shortly after noon, arrested Batovrin.

On August 18, Batovrin's wife, Natasha, met in Moscow with two visiting Americans—Richard Deats, executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Carole Kraemer, advertising manager of *The Nation*. According to Deats and Kraemer, Natasha said her husband is constantly depressed due to the drugs he is forced to take. The Group to Establish Trust, Natasha said, is trying to obtain her husband's release, as well as promote an exchange of children's paintings between the Soviet Union and the United States.

"We want peace," Natasha told Deats and Kraemer. "Peace is the business of everyone, not just government organizations. We don't know why the government opposes us. We do everything other government peace groups do. Maybe they just didn't understand us. They want us to join the Soviet peace committee and not be on our own."

The protest at the Soviet mission followed a press conference where Ostrovsky, a friend of Batovrin, called on "organizations in the peace movement to press for the release of Sergei Batovrin, and appeal to Soviet authorities to cease harassing our peace group." He expressed concern for Batovrin, who "is being threatened with electric shock therapy unless he continues to take depressant drugs." He said that Batovrin "is also threatened with criminal prosecution for evasion of military service."

"It is understandable," Ostrovsky said, "that the Soviet authorities want Sergei out of the way—his ideas have sparked a movement which could be of embarrassment to them."

At the Soviet mission, according to Jendrzejczyk, Bidni said there was no need for citizens to lobby for peace in the Soviet Union, since the government is officially for peace. Bidni claimed he knew nothing about the peace group, and that if anyone was detained or arrested, he must have done something wrong. "We pressed him on why the Soviet government would be threatened by this group," said Jendrzejczyk. "He didn't have any clear answer."

After the meeting with Bidni, both Jendrzejczyk and Ainsworth said they believe that activists in the United States can aid Soviet peace activists by applying pressure on Soviet officials. "I think the Russians in some ways are responsive to American public opinion," Ainsworth said. Jendrzejczyk agreed: "What I understand from human rights activists is that a meeting like this is very unusual. It shows we have some leverage."

—David Corn

Round-Up

CANADA: In November, 102 Canadian cities and towns, representing a total population of 4.7 million, will vote on municipal disarmament referendums that would mandate the national government to negotiate with other nations to achieve either general or nuclear disarmament. (The wording of the resolution varies from place to place.)

According to Operation Dismantle, the Ottawa-based peace group that is promoting the referendum campaign, the primary purpose of the referendum is to educate the populace about the issues of war and nuclear weapons. Canada has no nuclear weapons itself, but as a member of NATO it has agreed to provide a testing site for the new cruise missile in Alberta.

Operation Dismantle also hopes the Canadian vote will be the first step toward a "world referendum" on disarmament, and is pushing the Canadian government to introduce a similar referendum at the United Nations. To date, 137 members of the House of Commons, four short of a majority, have endorsed the resolution.

ENGLAND: William Whitelaw, the cabinet minister in charge of Britain's civil defense, announced this summer that Operation Hard Rock, a major exercise planned for late September, would be postponed a year. The reason, he told a reporter, was the opposition by 150 local town, borough, and city councils, representing a quarter of all Britain's local government authorities, to the siting and transportation of nuclear weapons in their areas.

The final straw, according to the *New Statesman's* Steve Walker, came when Britain's largest local authority, the Greater London Council, declared itself a nuclear-free zone. Fourteen months of plans were set aside, including simulated radio broadcasts designed for transmission during the two weeks before nuclear war would begin, and the announcement of 130 targets which would be attacked with conventional and nuclear weapons.

NETHERLANDS: Results of the recent parliamentary elections throw serious doubt on the ability of the peace movement to prevent the deployment of NATO nuclear missiles in Holland.

The liberal Labor Party, which opposes NATO plans to deploy 48 NATO medium-range nuclear missiles in Hol-

land, edged out the more conservative Christian Democratic Appeal by two seats in the September 6 election. However, most observers expect the formation of a conservative coalition, composed of Christian Democrats and the right-wing Party for Freedom and Democracy, that would support the NATO plan.

As a press official at the Netherlands Consulate General in New York City explains the situation: "There is now a majority emerging in Parliament that might say yes to the stationing of the missiles. It might turn out that opposition in Holland outside the government will be stronger, but the election results make it easier for the government to say yes to the new missiles."

MARSHALL ISLANDS: The United States has made a new offer to Kwajalein landowners in the hopes of renewing its lease of this Pacific atoll. The islands have been used since 1960 as a test site for intercontinental ballistic missiles fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in Lompoc, California. But the government's lease ran out last September, and since then negotiations have become entangled with the future of the Marshall Islands—the U.S. trust territory 2500 miles southwest of Hawaii, of which Kwajalein is a part.

In early September, government officials said they would pay \$9 million to the Kwajalein Atoll Corporation, a group of 5000 landowners, to renew the lease. Earlier, the U.S. had offered \$5 million; the landowners have asked for \$16 million. Since June, several hundred landowners—most of whom live in squalor on the 65-acre resettlement island of Ebeye—have occupied a ring of six islands surrounding a lagoon within the missile test range to protest the continued U.S. presence. The Army has retaliated by cutting off water to the squatters and by threatening to curtail food supplies and close banks on Ebeye as well.

BELGIUM: The first convention of European nuclear disarmament groups brought 800 delegates from 24 countries to Brussels in July. Speakers included Bahro Rudol, a former East German dissident now living in West Germany; Mike Lovey, a British trade unionist; and Mary Kaldor, one of the founders of European Nuclear Disarmament, or E.N.D.

Preparations for the conference were elaborate. For example, every workshop had to be translated into five languages. Among the subjects discussed were the relationship of disarmament to feminism, the church, and the trade-union movement. The conference also endorsed the

widespread European "peace camp" movement. Plans are already in the works for a larger conference scheduled for May 7-15, 1983, in Berlin. Topics to be addressed include demonstrations against the planned deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

JAPAN: On August 6, the 37th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, over 200 people gathered in Hiroshima's Peace Park to protest the nuclear bomb test conducted in Nevada the day before by the United States. Participants included representatives of various church, labor, student, women's and *hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors) groups, as well as *Gen-suikin* and *Gensuikyo*, Japan's two most active anti-nuclear organizations.

News of the explosion, which took place during the opening in Hiroshima of the 1982 World Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, was widely reported in the Japanese news media and was perceived by most people interviewed as a deliberate affront.

The Reverend Sato Gyotsu, chairman of the executive committee of the International Peace Bureau in Geneva, had just completed a 1000 kilometer peace march from Tokyo with 500 other anti-nuclear protesters when he heard about the explosion. "Of course it was taken that way," Gyotsu said. "It may have been suitable for him [Department of Energy Secretary James Edwards] to choose a date that totally disregards the worldwide opposition to the bomb. If you were to think of the Japanese government having some big military event on Pearl Harbor Day, and imagined how Americans would feel about that, I think you can understand."

SWITZERLAND: Ninety-seven Nobel prize-winning scientists have signed a statement calling for nuclear disarmament and a freeze on the development and deployment of nuclear weapons. The statement, which was issued by the Geneva office of the Council of Pugwash Conferences, warns that "time is running short" to prevent a nuclear holocaust.

More than half the signers were from the United States. The declaration was also signed by scientists from Australia, Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Switzerland, and the Soviet Union. According to Pugwash, a disarmament group inspired 25 years ago by Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell, the declaration was sent to 156 Nobel Prize winners. Replies were received from 110; seven refused to sign, and six of the replies were "ambiguous."

The Last Newspaper Column

The Federal Emergency Management Agency, the bureaucracy in charge of our nation's civil defense program, has prepared a series of 15 articles to be published in newspapers around the country in the event of a nuclear war. Like other civil defense measures, such as the relocation of urban populations to rural areas, FEMA's media campaign is based on the assumption that the Russians will give us at least a few days warning before launching their missiles. Otherwise, we may never get to read the final installment of the series, the one with the happy ending, headlined, "Would Survivors of Nuclear Attack Envy the Dead? . . . Experts Say 'No.'"

The 15 articles, each about 1500 words in length, are intended to be kept on file in newsrooms and civil defense offices in anticipation of a so-called "crisis-buildup period." They provide helpful hints on how to survive a nuclear attack, including what to do if the bomb drops while you're still on the road (follow the detailed plans for digging a "car-over-trench" fallout shelter); where to go if there's no basement in your house (lie down in the middle of the living room and surround yourself with furniture and dresser drawers filled with dirt); and how to treat early symptoms of radiation sickness (two aspirin every three or four hours). There are also diagrams for a nifty "preplanned snack bar shelter" (a basement wet-bar that converts into a well-stocked fallout shelter); tips on fire prevention ("If a nuclear explosion affects your home, go upstairs *immediately* and . . . stamp out burning drapes"); and a handy guide for what to take along on a two-week trip to the nearest fallout shelter ("travel light").

As farfetched as FEMA's syndicated columns may seem, as evocative as they are of an earlier generation of propaganda efforts (recently compiled in the documentary film *The Atomic Cafe*), civil defense in the age of Ronald Reagan is no laughing matter. The administration is planning to spend \$4.2 billion over the next seven years—of which Congress



Redecorating for the holocaust: Helpful hints from FEMA

has already approved an initial expenditure of \$152 million—on crisis relocation planning. The aim of this program is to convince the Russians that the United States is prepared to fight and survive such a war, but first Washington must convince its own citizens.

This is where FEMA's newspaper series comes in. Implicit in each of the articles is the message that millions, tens of millions, perhaps even a majority of Americans can survive an all-out nuclear attack—if only we are prepared. "A close look at the facts," writes the anonymous author of these pieces, "shows with fair certainty that with reasonable protective measures, the United States could survive nuclear attack and go on to recovery within a relatively few years."

This conclusion, with fair certainty, would have trouble clearing the fact-checking department of any newspaper in a city large enough to be targeted by Soviet missiles. According to recent studies prepared by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, the Center for Defense Information, and Physicians for Social Responsibility, survivability in an all-out nuclear exchange is a myth—quite a contradiction to FEMA's contention that Americans "could meet and overcome all the challenges of the post-attack environment." To the extent that the public can be lulled into a false sense of security by FEMA's unabashed cheerfulness, nuclear war be-

comes *more*, not less likely.

As it happens, most of the American press is not having any. A random survey of newspaper editorials on the administration's civil defense program reveals little enthusiasm for the plan.

With a few exceptions, such as the arch-conservative *Manchester, New Hampshire, Union Leader*, which argued that a strong civil defense effort would "perhaps deter the enemy from mistakenly concluding that we would rather be Red than dead," most newspapers have displayed open scorn for the crisis relocation plan that lies at the heart of the Reagan program. *The Albuquerque Journal*, a paper not known for its liberal views, called "the insanity of the scenario . . . breathtaking." The *Chicago Tribune* said it couldn't decide "whether to laugh or weep." And *The Houston Chronicle* observed that "we are kidding ourselves if we think that \$4 billion worth of studies and blast shelters would do much to sustain life following a nuclear holocaust."

Given this overwhelmingly negative reaction on the part of the press, FEMA might be better off burying all existing copies of its newspaper columns in strategically located fallout shelters. Down there—where, according to FEMA, a stack of paper 14 inches thick would offer as much protection from fallout as a four-inch block of concrete—they might actually do some good.

Friedman, a New York writer, is a former editor of MORE magazine.

•NUCLEAR CULTURE•

ESSAY BY ROBERT JAY LIFTON

Bringing The Bomb Home

We are just now beginning to realize that nuclear weapons radically alter our existence. It is true that none of our actions, problems, or symptoms is caused by nuclear weapons alone. But it is also true that nothing we do or feel—in working, playing, and loving, and in our private, family, and public lives—is free of their influence. The threat they pose has become the context for our lives, a shadow that persistently intrudes upon our mental ecology.

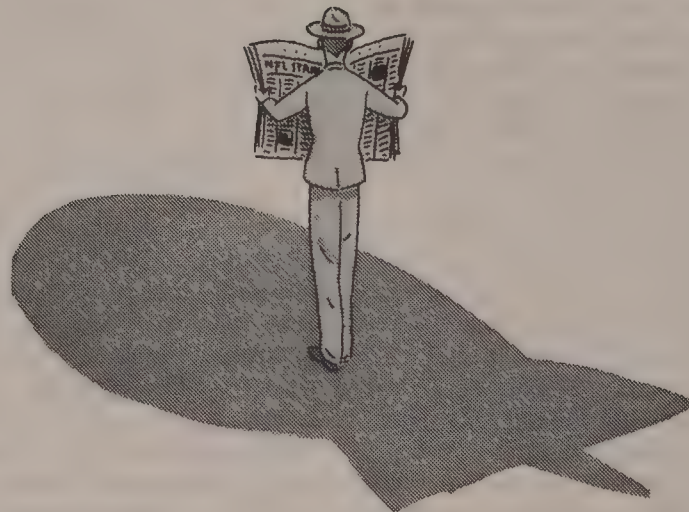
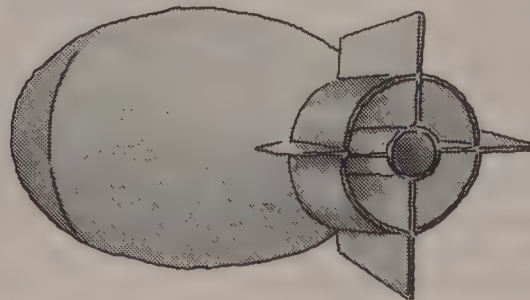
We would hardly expect the influence to be a salutary one, but we have been slow to come to terms with how malignant it is. At the heart of the matter are ways in which the bomb impairs our capacity to confront the bomb. The presence of these mass-killing devices in the world, that is, creates staggering new problems for us and at the same time distorts our thinking and blunts our feeling about precisely these problems.

Our immediate predicament can be summed up by a single word: absurdity. Perhaps existentialist philosophers are correct in their assertion that human existence, in the face of our knowledge of death, has always been absurd. But we live now in a very special realm of absurdity. We are haunted by something we cannot see or even imagine, threatened by something we call “nuclear holocaust.”

Our absurdity, then, has several layers. First, there is the idea that organizations of human beings (we usually think of the Soviet Union and the United States, but they are hardly the only ones) stand poised to destroy virtually all of human civilization—destroy humankind—in the name of destroying one another. That is our basic absurdity.

Our second absurdity is the knowledge

Lifton holds the Foundations' Fund Chair for Research in Psychiatry at Yale University. He is the author of Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima, among other works. This essay is adapted from Indefensible Weapons, by Robert Jay Lifton and Richard Falk, to be published this month by Basic Books in both hardcover (\$15.50) and paperback (\$6.95).



on the one hand that we, each of us, could be consumed in a moment together with everyone and everything we have touched or loved, and on the other, our tendency to go about business as usual—continue our routines—as though no such threat existed. This is the absurdity of our double life.

A third layer of absurdity has to do with the mind's relationship to the “thing.” We simply cannot locate in our images anything like this “nuclear holocaust.” Here is the special absurdity of the mind, our struggle with our limited capacity to (in Buber's phrase) “imagine the real.” With the appearance of nuclear weapons, doing just that has become uniquely difficult and at the same time a prerequisite for collective survival.

From the standpoint of psychic impact, it does not matter much whether we imagine the end of *all* or merely *most* human life. Either way, we can no longer feel certain of biological posterity. We are in doubt about the future of *any* group—of one's family, geographical or ethnic confreres, people, or nation. The image is that of human history and hu-

man culture simply terminating. The idea of *any* human future becomes a matter of profound doubt. In that image we, or perhaps our children, are the last human beings. There is no one after us to leave anything to. We become cut off, collectively self-enclosed, something on the order of a vast remnant. The general human narrative would come to an end, and nothing in that narrative can justify to us or explain the reasons for that end.

This sense of radical futurelessness does not *in itself* cause any of our mental conflicts or aberrations but at the same time influences all of them and colors all that we experience.

Consider the radical new situation between parent and child. Undermined now in that relationship is the fundamental parental responsibility: that of “family security,” seeing the child safely into some form of functional adulthood. The parent must now doubt his or her capability of doing just that. And the child must also sense, early on, the parental doubt and associate it with the overall inability of the adult world to guarantee the safety of children. We have, then, beginning ev-

idence of significant impairment to the overall parent-child bond and its balance between protection and love on the one hand, and not just compliance, but inner acceptance of authority on the other. With nuclear subversion of that authority, the ambivalence from both sides, always present in any case, can be expected to intensify and perhaps subvert feelings of love.

The marital relationship itself may well be threatened in another way. The long-term, indeed virtually permanent, commitment traditionally associated with marriage becomes much harder to make in the face of uncertain biological continuity. The permanence of any relationship is thrown into question, and even more so the central function of marriage, which is to provide a reliable institution for the rearing of children. As a result there could be a greater reluctance to marry, increasing ambivalence among married people about the institution and what one gives up in its name, or an increasing need to maintain love relationships outside of marriage. Imagery of extinction, then, could well contribute significantly to recent increases in such phenomena as divorce, experimental substitutes for marriage (people living together in different ways for varying lengths of time), modified marital arrangements and practices involving extramarital relationships, and the decision on the part of married couples not to have children.

Indeed, one may recognize a related uneasiness in attitudes toward work in general. The possibility of nuclear holocaust makes us doubt that anything we do or make will last. I have in mind here the shifts from what was called the "hippie ethos" of the 1960s and the early 1970s, in which most work was to be avoided as meaningless and unpleasurable, to the seemingly opposite attitude during the late 1970s and early 1980s of embracing the safest and best-paying jobs in society (a considerable run on the legal and medical professions, for instance). In both attitudes—and they are clearly related—there is a struggle around the psychic inroads of the new ephemeralism and a quest for either work or cultural substitutes for work that can suggest meaning, pleasure, lastingness.

We are only now emerging from the psychological bondage that has made it so difficult for us to confront the bomb's threat to our existence. At this point we can speak of a turn toward awareness, which could lead to more extensive anti-nuclear commitment. But awareness is a necessary first step, and that awareness requires that we acknowledge how deeply nuclear weapons have affected every corner of our lives.

BOOKS

Lunar Cities In The Desert

Nuclear Culture: Living and Working in the World's Largest Atomic Complex, by Paul Loeb. Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 225 pages, \$13.95.

Hanford, in the southeast corner of Washington state, was a tiny farm town until 1943. Today, to use the words of author Paul Loeb, it is a reservation of "silver lunar cities surrounded by brown channeled desert," built as part of the Manhattan Project. Though the project's star scientists were at Los Alamos, Chicago, or Oak Ridge, isolated Hanford was the site of the reactors that produced plutonium for the first nuclear weapons. In 1945, a bomb made of Hanford plutonium was dropped on Nagasaki. Later, the "Area," as most of its 13,000 workers call Hanford, manufactured plutonium for the Eniwetok hydrogen bomb tests.

Loeb, a young Seattle journalist, has fashioned this book, the first full-length study of life at a nuclear installation, from interviews with many of Hanford's workers. One of the old hands who came to Hanford during the war, and who sadly misses those bureaucrat-free days of crash preparations when inventive engineers like himself had free rein, described Eniwetok as "just a job I did the fastest and to the tightest tolerances I knew how."

Hanford is still producing weapons-grade plutonium. It is also the largest storage site of radioactive waste in the world. And, until the current financial difficulties of the domestic nuclear industry caught up with Hanford, construction was under way on a complex of three nuclear power plants, with two others planned just 200 miles away.

Exceptionally high rates of cancer have been found among Hanford workers; a particularly enthusiastic civic booster Loeb talked with suffers from cancer of the jaw. Hanford, then, supplies omnipresent reminders of the dangers of our national fascination with nuclear power—military and peacetime.

However, Loeb finds that most Hanford employees and their families wear mental blinders and easily rationalize their work and their environment. The older hands, who proudly consider themselves "doers, not thinkers," and their wives, who appreciate the fact that the isolated communities around Hanford have no slums and little crime, remember the annual Atomic Frontier Days in the 1950s, and the 1958 ceremony incorporat-

ing the town of Richland that was crowned by the explosion of a mock A-bomb. The local high school football team is still named the Bombers and sports a mushroom-cloud insignia.

The early settlers have been joined by younger workers from the community and by highly skilled migrants—craftsmen who go from construction site to construction site—"working themselves out of jobs as they complete each project." The younger men are often cockier than the old guard—Loeb encountered one Texan who chinned himself on pipes in a "hot" area—but also more likely to admit that radiation worries them. Yet they like the money they earn, the cars and cameras their salaries buy.

No one there is willing to openly question Hanford's *raison d'être*. Those few who do, such as Steve Stalos, who resigned his job monitoring one of the waste-storage "tank farms" and blew the whistle on radioactive gas leaks and plutonium contamination outside the reservation, are branded "a fifth column threat" and are overwhelmed by "the slow crush of bureaucratic resistance." Protesters quit and are replaced. Here, as Loeb puts it, "where nuclear dangers are most intimately encountered, almost no discussion deals with their implications."

Loeb's book grew from a magazine article, and it suffers from windy personal journalism where anecdotes are sufficiently telling. However, Loeb makes clear that Hanford's combination of machismo and indifference to nuclear threat is not limited to the reservation. While researching his book, Loeb was handed a questionnaire about public attitudes toward nuclear weapons. "When I reached the section on whether I had ever talked with my family about nuclear war, I admitted we'd never discussed the subject." Several weeks after his first visit to Hanford, Loeb discovered that, despite a brush with contamination, "like everyone here, I had begun to treat the environment as routine."

Hanford's nuclear culture is the logical outgrowth of blind faith in technology. From his study of Hanford, Loeb concludes that this model nuclear park is not exceptional; its inhabitants are like most Americans, Loeb says, who remain "only employees where we work and only transitory migrants in our communities," preferring to "leave control of our world to others." Hanford simply reflects the nation that built it. —Ann Marie Cunningham

•RESOURCES•

ORGANIZATIONS



With each issue, this column will provide a list of books, films, magazine articles, or organizations that offer information or services of particular interest to the anti-nuclear weapons movement. This month we feature some of the organizations that provide resources for the fall congressional and initiative campaigns.

Suggestions are welcome. Please send them to Resources Editor, care of this magazine.

LEGISLATIVE UP-DATES

The Council for a Livable World, 100 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002, maintains a Nuclear Arms Control Hotline, (202) 543-0006, that tells you the latest on arms control and military budget legislation, key upcoming votes in Congress, executive branch policy developments, and a weekly Action Request telling you whom to contact and what issues to bring up. You can call 24 hours a day for the three-minute taped message, which is updated every Monday while Congress is in session, more often if necessary.

Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, 501 House Annex Two, Washington, D.C. 20515, (202) 266-3440, furnishes its material primarily to members of Congress and their staffs. But it's worth asking for their updates—"The Week Ahead in Foreign and Military Policy" and "Highlights of Last Week's Congressional Committee Action in Foreign and Military Policy"—both of which outline the latest legislative developments. Also available is a list of names and addresses of arms control political action committees, a list of recent resolutions on nuclear arms control introduced in the House and Senate, and valuable papers, including "Public Opinion on Nuclear War" and "The Nuclear Freeze Resolution."

ARMS CONTROL REPORTS

Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, 251 Harvard Street, Brookline, Massachusetts 02146, (617) 734-4216. The director is Randall Forsberg, widely

credited with starting the freeze movement. In the works are an annual survey titled *World Military Forces and Disarmament Opportunities*, studies of the U.S. and Soviet military, and a biennial peace directory of American organizations. Meanwhile, you can subscribe to the institute's expensive but valuable *Arms Control Reporter* (\$90 annually for national groups, \$60 for local groups and students), which provides monthly reports on current official negotiating positions, calendars of current sessions and related events, critiques of current arms talks, as well as original texts of important documents, speeches, and communications.

HOTLINES & NETWORKS

The Campaign Against Nuclear War in Washington, D.C., has a new hotline number you can use to make contact with disarmament and anti-nuclear weapons organizations. Call (800) 528-6050, plus the correct extension. To get cassettes of SANE radio broadcasts, ask for extension 17; extension 32 will get you on a mailing list of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. The Campaign Against Nuclear War expects shortly to hook up to 40 groups into the hotline. To find out about getting your group listed, call director Janet Michaud at (202) 543-5556.

Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market Street, San Francisco, California 94102, (415) 495-0526, was created "by area peace organizations and individuals to improve communication and cooperation among the growing community of disarmament activists, groups, and the general public." The center publishes a calendar of disarmament events in

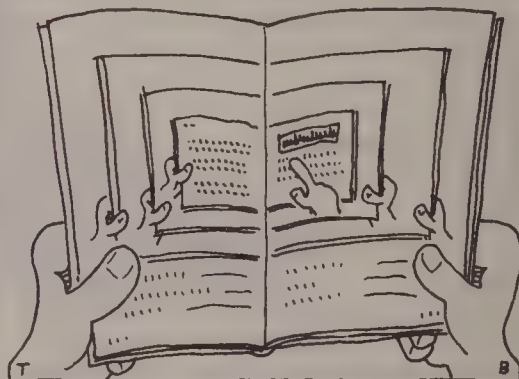


Northern California; subscriptions are \$10 for individuals, \$15 for groups for 10 issues per year. Among the DRC's projects in the works are a *Disarmament Directory: A Guide to the Movement Against Nuclear Weapons and War*. The Center is also compiling a library of books and periodicals on disarmament and is putting together PeaceNet, a group "to create a computer-based system to serve

Bay Area disarmament organizations."

HANDBOOKS

Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, National Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell Boulevard, Suite 201, St. Louis, Missouri 63108, (314) 533-1169. The Freeze Campaign sells a variety of tools, including a handbook called *Rejoinders* (\$3) that will help you answer every objection to the freeze, as well as questions about the Soviet threat and national security; a fundraiser pack (\$5); samplers of the best ads and leaflets from local campaigns (\$10 per ad kit, 35 cents per leaflet sampler). For \$3 you can also order the Freeze Campaign's basic information pack, which includes position papers, the history of freeze proposals, the most recent issue of the freeze newsletter, the most recent campaign update, a list of prominent endorsers of the freeze proposal, and a local contacts list of key Freeze Campaign organizers around the country.



Ground Zero has a new 24-page pamphlet entitled "Thinking About the Prevention of Nuclear War." The brochure examines how a nuclear war might start and offers specific proposals for preventing nuclear war. To order, send 50 cents to its headquarters, 806 15th Street, N.W., Suite 421, Washington, D.C. 20005.

The Nuclear Information and Resource Service, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, offers the "Nuclear Weapons Resource Guide," a four-page introduction to the nuclear weapons issue that includes a contact directory and a bibliography, for 50 cents.

The Center for Defense Information is selling its handy 58-page booklet, "Quotes: Nuclear War," for \$1.50, half the original price. This little book is a collection of quotations on the subject, some of them familiar, some quite unexpected. The Center also offers a "Nuclear War Prevention Kit" for \$1. To order, write Center for Defense Information, 600 Maryland Ave. S.W., Suite 303 (West wing), Washington, D.C. 20024.

—Compiled by
Ann Marie Cunningham

•CALENDAR•

CONTINUING EVENTS

BETHLEHEM PEACE PILGRIMAGE This year-long walking pilgrimage started at the Trident submarine base in Bangor, Washington, on Good Friday and should reach Cincinnati, Ohio, by Oct 7. After finishing its American leg in New York, the walk will resume in Ireland in March, 1983, continue through Europe, and conclude in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Along the way marchers will pray for peace and hold discussions with religious and community leaders, the news media, and local inhabitants. For further information, contact J. Thomas, 621 17th Av E., Seattle, WA 98112 (206) 329-1242.

HIBAKUSHA: A LOVE STORY FROM HIROSHIMA Modern Times Theater, a theater company based in New York City, will continue its tour of this play about two survivors of the Hiroshima bombing. The performances will be in Madison, WI (Oct 1), Chicago (Oct 2), Minneapolis (Oct 4), Maquoketa, IA (Oct 6), Cedar Rapids (Oct 7), Ames, IA (Oct 8), Lawrence, KS (Oct 9), Wichita (Oct 10), San Francisco (Oct 13-17), Portland, OR (Oct 23-24), Seattle (Oct 28-31), and Houston (Nov 1-7). For information, contact Joan Rosenfels, Modern Times Theater, 336 W 20 St, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-4517.

UNFORGETTABLE FIRE This exhibit of drawings by Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors began on Aug 6 and continues through Nov 30 at the Peace Museum, 365 W Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

OCTOBER 1

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

National Student Leadership Conference, "The Implications of a Nuclear Weapons Freeze"; National Education Association Bldg, 1201 16th St NW, through Oct 3. Charlie King (202) 638-6447, or Judy Schnidman, U.S. Student Association, 2000 P St NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 775-8943.

FLORIDA

St. Petersburg Vigil at the General Electric Neutron Device plant; every Friday. Dan Moore, Immanuel House, 5600 68th St N, St. Petersburg, FL 33705 (813) 544-1954.

ILLINOIS

Oak Forest Conference, "Christian Peacemaking in the Nuclear Age"; Hope Christian Reform Church, 5825 W 151 St, through Oct 3. Steve Pointer, 5516 W 131 St, Crestwood, IL 60445 (312) 597-0672 or 597-8315.

KENTUCKY

Louisville Public forum on the freeze, with Retired Adm. Eugene Carroll of the Center for Defense Information and Sen. Walter Huddleston. Council on Peacemaking and Religion, 3940 Poplar Level Rd., Louisville, KY 40213 (502) 458-0269

OHIO

Wooster 2nd Peacemaking Symposium, "In Search of Human Justice: Stemming the Tide of the Militarization of Human Society"; The College of Wooster, Sept 30-Oct 2. Dr. Richard H. Bell, The College of Wooster, Wooster, OH 44691 (216) 263-2000.

WASHINGTON

Seattle Conferences and festival, "Target Seattle: Preventing Nuclear War," including Lou Harris, Casper Weinberger, Dr. Helen Caldicott, Archibald Cox, and the Persuasions; various locations with the finale in the Kingdome;

Sept 24-Oct 2. Target Seattle: Preventing Nuclear War, 909 4th Av, Seattle, WA 98104 (206) 382-5018.

OCTOBER 2

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco Play, "In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer"; Julian Theater. Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St, Rm 708, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 495-0526

CONNECTICUT

Statewide "Civil Defense Fact-finding Day"; communities throughout Connecticut. Maggie Bierwith, Connecticut.



A scene from "Hibakusha"—see Continuing Events.

cut Coalition for a Nuclear Arms Freeze/American Friends Service Committee, RD 1, Box 494, Voluntown, CT 06384 (203) 376-4098.

CONNECTICUT & MASSACHUSETTS

Granville, New London, and Williamstown A mock civil defense action, "Run for Your Lives (But There's No Place to Go)." Rosalie Anders, 90 Summer St, Williamstown, MA 01267 (413) 458-8318.

ILLINOIS

Champaign Statewide Freeze Conference, with Randy Kehler. Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 S. State, Suite 1600, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 922-2423.

IOWA

Statewide Freeze caucuses in each congressional district. Timothy Button, Iowa Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Av, Des Moines IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston Conference, "Can We Negotiate Our Way Out of Nuclear War?"; John Hancock Auditorium, 180 Berkeley St. Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Inc., 14 Beacon St, Suite 719, Boston, MA 02108 (617) 227-0118.

MICHIGAN

Detroit Conference, "The Impact of the Arms Race on Women"; General Lectures Auditorium, Wayne State Univ. Lillian Genser, Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, 5229 Cass Av, Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 577-3468.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln Hearings on the possible effects of installing MX missiles; Nebraska

State Legislature, all of October. Monica Kirk, Rte 1, Box 15, Mitchell, NE 69357 (308) 635-7402.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Manchester Conference, "Peacemaking: A Matter of Faith and Conscience"; St. Anselm College. Pax Christi, c/o Justice and Peace Office, 153 Ash St, Box 310, Manchester, NH 03105 (603) 669-3100.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque Statewide convention, "New Mexicans for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze," with Randy Kehler, National Freeze Coordinator, and a congressional candidates' forum; Univ.

cent Burns, Pax Christi, RFD 1, Wayne, ME 04284 (207) 685-9205.

NEW YORK

Syracuse March and rally, "Walk to Save the Human Race: In Support of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze"; Clinton Sq. Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Central New York, P.O. Box 2292, Syracuse, NY 13220 (315) 458-1285.

OCTOBER 4

NATIONAL

Release of the film, *The Time Has Come*, about the international disarmament movement, including footage from the June 12 rally; will premier in several cities during October. National Action-Research on the Military Industrial Complex, 1501 Cherry St, Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7175.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque Films on civil defense. Dorie Bunting, New Mexico Peace Conversion, 5021 Guadalupe St NW, Albuquerque, NM 87107 (505) 344-1140.

OCTOBER 5

COLORADO

Boulder Discussion, "Soviet-American Confrontation and the History of the Arms Race," with Robert Pois, Tom Mayer, Ed Rozek; Old Main Chapel, Univ. of Colorado. Doris Havice, Religious Studies Dept., Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309 (303) 492-6984.

OCTOBER 6

ARIZONA

Bonnie Raitt Concerts Some of the proceeds of Bonnie Raitt's tour will benefit Arizonans for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze. She will perform in Flagstaff (Oct 6), Phoenix (Oct 7-8), and open for Hank Williams, Jr. in Tucson (Oct 10). Edwina Vogan, 1145 E 6 St, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602) 792-3517.

NEW YORK

New York The Disarmament Program of the Riverside Church will host a series of talks about disarmament-related topics: Oct 6, Rev. Mike Clark, "Is the World Big Enough for the US and USSR?"; Oct 10, Mike Clark and Marta Daniels reporting on a three-week disarmament trip to the Soviet Union; Oct 18, Arthur Macy Cox, "Are the Russians Really Coming?" and Cora Weiss and Mike Clark, "How to Integrate Peacemaking into Churches and Synagogues"; Oct 27, Ron Coleman, "What Happens When Your Faith Conflicts with Your Work?" Riverside Church, Riverside Dr & 122 St, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

OCTOBER 7

CONNECTICUT

Hartford Six-week course, "Can the Nuclear Arms Monster Be Tamed?" begins at Hartford College for Women, Sphere-Cheney branch. 1265 Asylum Av, Hartford, CT 06105 (203) 236-1886.

MASSACHUSETTS

Lexington Talk by Jonathan King, "The Challenge for Job Conversion for Peace"; Oct 14, Rep. Edward Markey, "Politics of a Nuclear Freeze"; Clark Jr. High School, Brookside Av. Miriam Velnick, 4 Dane Rd, Lexington, MA 02173 (617) 861-1107.

OCTOBER 8

CALIFORNIA

Southern California Freeze Sabbath in

•CALENDAR•

churches and synagogues all over southern California, through Oct 10. Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, 132 N Euclid, Pasadena, CA 91101 (213) 449-9430, or Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 7265 Franklin Av, Los Angeles, CA 90046 (213) 850-1683.

Philo Seminar, "Journeying Towards Peacemaking: Faith, Conversion, and Resistance," training for educators in the religious community; Wellspring Renewal Court, Ecumenical Peace Inst. Clergy and Laity Concerned, 942 Market St, Rm 714, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 391-5215.

GEORGIA
Atlanta Conference, "Peacemaking"; Mt. Zion 2nd Baptist Church, through Oct 9. Mark Hurst, 683 Grant St SE, Atlanta, GA 30315 (404) 622-0186.

MASSACHUSETTS
Cambridge Painting exhibit, "The Nuclear Threat: Expressions of Concern," with music, poetry, and mime at the opening reception on Oct 17; M.I.T. Museum, 265 Massachusetts Av, through Oct 29. Artists for Survival, 144 Moody St, Waltham, MA 02154 (617) 891-4235.

MINNESOTA
Rochester 9th annual Pax Christi National Assembly, including sessions on "Bishops and Physicians on the Threat of Nuclear War," and the freeze; Assisi Hgts, through Oct 10. Pax Christi USA, 6337 W. Cornelia Av, Chicago, IL 60634 (312) 736-2113.

NEW YORK
New York World premiere of the film *Dark Circle*, a contemporary portrait of the nuclear age as told through the lives of those directly affected by it; New York Film Festival, Lincoln Center. For tour information, contact Judy Irving, Independent Documentary Group, 394 Elizabeth St, San Francisco, CA 94114 (415) 824-5822.

WEST VIRGINIA
Ripley Conference, "The Church Alive in Social Injustice"; Cedar Lakes Conference Center, through Oct 9. Judy Wilhelm, Catholic Community Services, 227 Chestnut St, Rm 5, Morgantown, WV 26505 (304) 292-6597.

OCTOBER 9 •

PHYSICIANS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY SYMPOSIA

On Oct 9, there will be three symposia sponsored by PSR in conjunction with local medical schools that address the medical consequences of nuclear war. The locations and the people to contact are: **Eugene, OR**—Dr. Susan Sowards (503) 342-2064; **Milwaukee, WI**—Dr. Tom Hooyman (414) 332-1170; **Pittsburgh, PA**—Dr. Jack Paradise (412) 647-5415.

CALIFORNIA
Davis Public forum, "The Arms Race: From Hiroshima to the Nuclear Freeze Initiative," Room 194, Chemistry Bldg, Univ. of California, Davis Campus. Yvonne Hunter, Univ. Extension, Univ. of California, Davis, CA 95616 (916) 752-6572.

Livermore Rally, "30 Years and Nothing to Celebrate," on the Founder's Day of Lawrence Livermore Labs. Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck, Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 644-2028.

DELAWARE
Dover Fair, "Fall Flair," including a presentation of freeze petitions to the governor; Governor's Mansion. Mary Lou Beatman, Downstate Nuclear Freeze Movement, RD 3, Box C180, Felton, DE 19943 (302) 284-4745.

ILLINOIS

Chicago Benefit dinner for the Chicago Peace Council with Ruth Adams, editor of *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*. Chicago Peace Council, 542 S Dearborn St, Rm 510, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 922-6578.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston Concert for Nuclear Disarmament, with Arlo Guthrie & Shenandoah and John Coster & the Medicine Band; Orpheum Theater. Citizens for Participation in Political Action, 25 West St, Boston, MA 02111 (617) 426-3040.

MONTANA

Missoula Montana Peace Festival, with workshops, entertainment, march, and rally. Butch Turk, Student Action Center, Univ. Center 105, Univ. of Montana, Missoula, MT 59812 (406) 243-5897.

NEW YORK

Purchase Concert by Charlie King for the freeze; Purchase Friends Meeting House, Rte 120, Lake St. Westchester People's Action Coalition, 255 Grove St, Box 488, White Plains, NY 10602 (914) 682-0488.

NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh Organizing skills workshop with Carla Johnston of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign national hqtrs. Anne Welsh, AFSC, P.O. Box 90, Greensboro, NC 27402 (919) 373-0082.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia Common Cause workshop on the freeze; Holiday Inn, NW. Jerry Henderson, Box 488, Fair Forest, SC 29336 (803) 582-2493.

VERMONT

Montpelier Rally, "Jobs, Peace, and Justice"; State House Lawn. John Case, United Electrical Workers local 218, P.O. Box 559, Springfield, VT 05156 (802) 885-2790.

OCTOBER 10 •

NATIONAL

Seven states around the country will celebrate "Peace Day: A Family Celebration for Peace." Nancy Graham, Peace Links, 600 New Hampshire Av NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20037 (202) 965-3410.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco Exhibit, "The LifeYard" featuring anti-nuclear, pro-peace art; Gallery Sanchez. Noe Valley Ministry, 1021 Sanchez St, San Francisco, CA 94114 (415) 821-4117.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston Dance recital to benefit Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament; New England Life Hall. Todd Born, PANDA, P.O. Box 740, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 864-2552.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor Talk, "A Christian Layman Views Nuclear Pacifism" by Sen. Mark Hatfield; Rackham Auditorium, Univ. of Michigan. Jitsuo Murakawa, 1st Baptist Church of Ann Arbor, MI 48104 (313) 663-9376.

NEW JERSEY

Morristown Ground Zero Day with Rev. Paul Bryor, Episcopal Bishop of N.Y., and Richard Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies; 70 Maple Av. Helen Daley, P.O. Box 172, New Vernon, NJ 07976 (201) 267-2234.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Peace concert: Classical Music from the Middle Ages to the Contemporary; St. John's Cathedral, 802 N Jackson. Joe O'Malley, 1016 N 9 St, Milwaukee, WI 53233 (414) 272-0961.

OCTOBER 11 •

TEXAS

Austin Austin Artists for Peace Week, with dance, art auction, theater, and music; Dougherty Cultural Arts Center, Barton Springs Rd, through Oct 17. Don Gardner, Austin Coalition for Peace and Justice, 1022 W 6 St, Austin, TX 78703 (512) 263-2586.

VIRGINIA

Richmond Conference, "Educating for Peace through Teaching and Preaching"; Union Theological Seminary. Steve Hodges, Richmond Peace Education Center, 14 N Laurel St, Richmond, VA 23220 (804) 358-1958.

OCTOBER 12 •

CALIFORNIA

Hollywood Photography exhibit to benefit Californians for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze and Alliance for Survival, with works by Ansel Adams, Robert Rauschenberg, Imogen Cunningham, Andy Warhol, and 100 other nationally known artists; Jack Rutberg Fine Arts Gallery, 357 N LaBrea Av. Lorel Cornman, 433 Ocean Av, Santa Monica, CA 90404 (213) 451-4224.

OCTOBER 13 •

NATIONAL

As an installment of "The Inside Story," the Public Broadcasting System will air *Nuclear War: The Incurable Disease*, in which Soviet and American medical doctors discuss the medical consequences of nuclear war. International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, 635 Huntington Av, 2nd fl., Boston, MA 02115 (617) 738-9404.

OCTOBER 15 •

KANSAS

Salina Conference, "Peace: the Kansas Dream"; 1st Presbyterian Church, through Oct 16. Sister Mary Drees, Marymount College, Filina, KS 67401 (913) 825-2101.

MAINE

Brunswick Workshop, "Imaging a World without War"; Dam Cove Lodge. Ann Collins, P.O. Box 5, Vienna, ME 04360.

MASSACHUSETTS

Cambridge Conference for college students, "Education for Action in a Nuclear World," with arms experts, politicians, and activists leading workshops; The Forum, Inst. of Politics, Harvard Univ., through Oct 16. Jay Hamilton, Inst. of Politics, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-1377.

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor Seminar, "The Peril of Nuclear Proliferation in Asia," part of the Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs; Rackham Bldg, Univ. of Michigan. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109 (313) 764-0352.

PENNSYLVANIA

Milroy Conference, "Blessed Are the Peacemakers"; Hartman Center. Janet Cromwell, Student Christian Movement, 231 Creese Student Center, 32 St at Chestnut, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 895-2522.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Sioux Falls Fall Freeze Conference, "Paths for Peace." Barb Jansen, Box 405, Watertown, SD 57201 (605) 882-2822.

WYOMING

Casper Candidates forum, "No MX Mis-

siles in Wyoming"; All Church Assembly, 1st Presbyterian Church. Wyoming Church Coalition, see **October 2**, Wyoming.

OCTOBER 16 •

CALIFORNIA

Santa Monica Carnival, "Celebration of Life" with music, speakers, clowns, and games; Civic Auditorium, through Oct 17. Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 7265 Franklin Av, Los Angeles CA 90046 (213) 850-1683.

MASSACHUSETTS

Newton Teach-in, "Nuclear Disarmament and a Nuclear-free World"; Andover-Newton Theological School, 210 Herrick Rd. Marguerite Lovett, 1508 Herrick Rd, Newton Center, MA 02159 (617) 332-2695.

MICHIGAN

Statewide Freeze Sabbath observed throughout the state, through Oct 17. Matthew Goodheart, Inst. for Global Education, 25 Sheldon SE, Grand Rapids, MI 49503 (616) 454-1642.

NEW JERSEY

Princeton 3rd Annual Teaching Conference, with Rev. Joseph Lowery, William Winpisinger, Sen. Gary Hart, Inga Thorsson, and Herbert Scoville; Nassau Presbyterian Church, 61 Nassau St, through Oct 17. Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament, 40 Witherpoon St, Princeton, NJ 08540 (609) 924-5022.

OCTOBER 17 •

INDIANA

Bloomington Peace Walk with marchers from Moscow and Washington, Indiana converging at Bloomington, where a press conference and rally will be held. Jack Davis, P.O. Box 551, Lapel, IN 46051 (317) 534-4590.

MASSACHUSETTS

Cambridge Concert by the Harvard Chamber Orchestra to benefit PANDA and the Council for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze; Sanders Theater, Harvard Univ. PANDA, see **October 10**, Massachusetts.

OHIO

Cleveland Concert, "Musicians Against Nuclear Arms," by members of Cleveland Symphony Orch. to benefit PSR and the Cleveland Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Cleveland Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 304 Bridge Av, Cleveland, OH 44103 (216) 631-2210.

Tallmadge Play, "Alice in Blunderland," a musical allegory about the foibles and dangers of the nuclear age; Tallmadge Congregational Church. Leslie Hudak, Legacy, Inc, 1275 Goldfinch Trail, Stow, OH 44224 (216) 688-1253.

OREGON

Eugene Concert of classical music to benefit Citizen Action for Lasting Security; Beall Hall, Univ. of Oregon. Tom Lynch, CALS, 454 Willamette, Eugene, OR 97401 (503) 343-8548.

OCTOBER 18 •

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles Peace reading by Martin Sheehan, Margot Kidder, Lee Remick, and other celebrities reading excerpts from works by Hemingway, Frost, Pirandello, Cummings, and others; Wilshire Ebbell Theater. Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, see **October 16**, California.

The Bay Area Lecture and workshop, "Post-Special Session Reflection," with Inga Thorsson, Swedish Ambassador to the U.N.; various churches in

the Bay Area, through Oct 19. Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St, Rm 712, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 391-5215.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Demonstration and civil disobedience against the military buildup and the draft; Selective Service System Hqtrs, Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Av NW, Washington, DC 20008 (202) 234-2000.

WYOMING

Casper Statewide nuclear freeze meeting. Wyoming Church Coalition, See October 2, Wyoming.

OCTOBER 19

ARIZONA

Tucson Forum, "The Nuclear Race: Security or Extinction?"; Harvil Auditorium, Univ. of Arizona Continuing Education, Barbara Elfrandt, Tucson AFSC, 745 E 5 St, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602) 623-7951.

NEW YORK

New York 1st Biennial Conference, "On the Fate of the Earth: Conservation and Security in a Sustainable Society"; Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Friends of the Earth, 1045 Sansome St, San Francisco, CA 94111 (415) 433-7373.

OCTOBER 20

MINNESOTA

St. Paul Conference, "Nuclear War: the Reality and the Alternatives." Addresses by Robert Lifton and Gene Sharp; Student Center Ballroom, Hamline Univ. Robert Englund, News Dir., Hamline Univ., 1536 Hewitt Av, St. Paul, MN 55104 (612) 641-2216.

OCTOBER 22

INDIANA

Milford 5th Annual Midwest FOR Retreat, "Teach Peace"; Camp Mack, through Oct 23. David Leiter, FOR, Box 25, N Manchester, IN 46962 (219) 982-4277.

IOWA

Des Moines Conference, "U.S. Military Spending"; Des Moines Hotel. Dan Clark, Consortium on International Peace and Reconciliation, 317 E 5 St, Suite 8, Des Moines, IA 50309 (515) 244-2253.

MISSOURI

St. Louis Teach-in on the military buildup, with Bishop Thomas Gumbleton; St. Louis Univ. Audrey or Scott Myers, Mobilization to Save the Heartland, 962 Warder, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314) 726-4662.

NEBRASKA

Omaha Public addresses and debate with Strategic Air Command representatives by Retired Adm. Eugene Carroll of the Center for Defense Information, through Oct 23. Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 1715 Izard St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 341-4427.

OCTOBER 23

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles 3rd Annual Walk for Survival, proceeds to go to the Alliance for Survival; Venice Beach Pavilion and Boardwalk. Alliance for Survival, 1503 N Hobart Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 (213) 462-6243.

COLORADO

Denver Denver premiere of the documentary film *Dark Circle* (See New York, October 8); Paramount Theater. Denver AFSC and Rocky Flats Project, 1660 Lafayette, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-4508.

IOWA

Des Moines 3rd Statewide Conference for the Nuclear Freeze Campaign; Washington Irving Multicultural Center, 16th & Forest. Timothy Button, Iowa Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Av, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

MASSACHUSETTS

Arlington Conference on Nuclear Disarmament; 1st Parish Church. Blossom Backal, 47 Mystic St, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 646-2479, or 1st Parish Church, Unitarian Universalists, Social Responsibility Committee, Massachusetts Av & Pleasant St, Arlington, MA 02174.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis United Nations Day rally for the freeze, a gathering of groups from seven North Central states and Canada; Memorial Stadium, Univ. of Minnesota. Scott Burguin, Minnesota Nuclear Freeze/People for Survival, 2395 University Av, St. Paul, MN 55114 (612) 644-4616.

NEW YORK

New York Pep rally and dancing, "Celebration for Life." For town meetings, conferences, and rallies during New York's Disarmament Week (Oct 23-Nov 2), contact Roberta Bravman, New York June 12 Disarmament Campaign, 135 W 4 St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 460-8992.

OCTOBER 24

NATIONAL

United Nations Disarmament Week Rallies, festivals, vigils, and conferences will be held throughout the country to observe U.N. Disarmament Week, which begins on U.N. Day and the opening of the U.N. General Session on Oct 24 and ends Oct 31. For information on activities not listed in this calendar, contact local chapters of groups such as the American Friends Service Committee, (215) 241-7000; Clergy and Laity Concerned, (212) 964-6730; Fellowship of Reconciliation, (914) 358-4601; Mobilization for Survival, (212) 533-0008; War Resisters League, (212) 228-0450; and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, (215) 563-7110.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles March and prayer vigil for the freeze; Federal Bldg, West Los Angeles. David Lumian, Alliance for Survival, 1503 N Hobart Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 (213) 462-6243.

ILLINOIS

Chicago 9th Congressional District Freeze Forum, "How to Avoid Nuclear War," with Adrian Fisher (chief negotiator of the Non-proliferation Treaty) and State Dept. representatives of the START policy; Lincoln Park High School, Orchard & Armitage St. Mary Inger, 1844 N Howe St, Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 642-4163.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston Demonstration against U.S. Military and Domestic Spending Policies; Boston Commons. Tony Palomba, Mobilization for Survival, 727 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 354-0008.

NEBRASKA

Omaha Walk for the Freeze. Joyce Glenn, Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Omaha Office, 1715 Izard St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 341-4427.

NEW JERSEY

Freehold Children's March for Disarmament; St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Main St. Herb Johnson, 109 Broad St, Freehold, NJ 07728 (201) 462-7136.

VIRGINIA

Norfolk Disarmament Week Freeze

Conference; Old Dominion Univ. Langdon Bristol, Tidewater Interfaith Peace Fellowship, 2909 Pinewood Dr, Virginia Beach, VA 23453 (804) 486-8838.

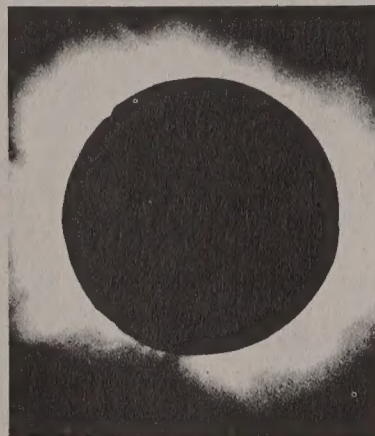
OCTOBER 25

NATIONAL

National Day of Dialogue "Creating Our Future," classroom discussions and symposia throughout the country on children's questions, thoughts, and fears about the threat of nuclear war, followed by evening meetings on how nuclear issues can be taught. Educators for Social Responsibility, 639 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-1764.

OHIO

Columbus Presentation of the Ohio Nuclear Weapons Freeze petition with over 200,000 signatures from all 88 counties of Ohio, with speakers and music; State House. Ohio Nuclear



"Dark Circle" premieres in New York and Denver.

Weapons Freeze Campaign, Holy Family Peace Center, 584 W Broad St, Columbus, OH 43215 (614) 221-4969.

OCTOBER 26

NEW JERSEY

Lincroft Forum on Civil Defense, "Is Evacuation Possible?"; Brookdale Community College. Community Services, Brookdale Community College, 765 Newman Springs Rd, Lincroft, NJ 07738 (201) 842-1900.

OCTOBER 27

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco Dinner for the freeze, with Dr. Helen Caldicott; Mark Hopkins Hotel. Ann Shaw, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Northern California office, 330 Jackson St, San Francisco, CA 94111 (415) 986-7605.

OCTOBER 28

ARKANSAS

Little Rock Annual conference, "Nuclear War Prevention: How to Do It," including the workshop, "Imaging a World Without War"; Philander Smith College, through Oct 30. Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development, c/o Barbara Stanford, 12406 Colleen Dr, Little Rock, AR 72212 (501) 224-4020.

MISSOURI

St. Louis Public hearing on the freeze with congressional candidates and representatives of various organizations supporting the freeze. Bill Ramsey, St. Louis AFSC, 438 N Skinker Blvd, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314) 862-5770.

NEW JERSEY

Marlboro Forum, "Atomic Veterans"

with film and speakers; Marlboro Jewish Center. Neil Brutman, 746 Greens Av, Long Branch, NJ 07740 (201) 222-2453.

OCTOBER 29

NEW JERSEY

Andover Northeast Regional Conference of the WRL; Hudson Guild Farm, through Oct 31. WRL, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450.

Morristown Concert, "Bright Morningstar," to benefit the New Jersey Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign; Church of the Redeemer, 26 South St. Clay Colt or Kate Donnelly, Morris County Safe Energy Alternative Alliance, Box 271, New Vernon, NJ 07976 (201) 538-6676 or 538-6699.

OHIO

Toledo Ohio Labor Conference, "Full Employment, Safe Energy, and Military Spending"; Holiday Inn, Reynolds Rd, through Oct 31. International Assoc. of Machinists, District 57, 4130 Lewis Av, Toledo, OH 43612 (419) 478-4211.

VIRGINIA

Richmond Peace Encounter Weekend, "Peacemaking"; Richmond Peace Education Center, 14 N Laurel St. Richmond Peace Education Center, 14 N Laurel St, Richmond, VA 23220 (804) 358-1958.

OCTOBER 30

MAINE

Orono Conference, "Nuclear War: Effects, Dangers, Prevention"; Univ. of Maine at Orono. Mike Howard, Dept. of Philosophy, The Maples, Univ. of Maine, Orono, ME 04469 (207) 581-7167.

MICHIGAN

Statewide Canvassing Day for the freeze before the Nov 2 ballot. Matthew Goodheart, Inst. for Global Education, 25 Sheldon SE, Grand Rapids, MI 49503 (616) 454-1642.

NEW YORK

New York "Walkathon for Survival" to benefit the national Mobilization for Survival and protest against nuclear arms; 14-mile route through Manhattan starting in Central Park. Terra Antar, National MOB, 853 Broadway, Rm 2109, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

CANADA

Ottawa Canadian National Day of Protest, with marches and rally against Canada's involvement in Cruise missile production and testing. Coalition for October 30th, The 5th Avenue Court, 99 5th Av, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1S5K4 (613) 230-3332. For information on New York groups that are planning to join the protest, contact Nuclear Weapons Facilities Networking Project/AFSC, 821 Euclid Av, Syracuse, NY 13210 (315) 475-4822.

OCTOBER 31

MASSACHUSETTS

Jamaica Plains "Peace Walk" to benefit the Disarmament Action Network, representing about 75 peace groups statewide; David Stuart, P.O. Box 724, Jamaica Plains, MA 02130 (617) 524-6848. The walk will end at the starting point in Jamaica Plains of the second annual "Human Race to End the Arms Race," which will raise funds to bring runners from running clubs in the Soviet Union to next year's Boston marathon; Phil Shinnick, 116 Johnson St, Highland Park, NJ 08904 (201) 246-8557.

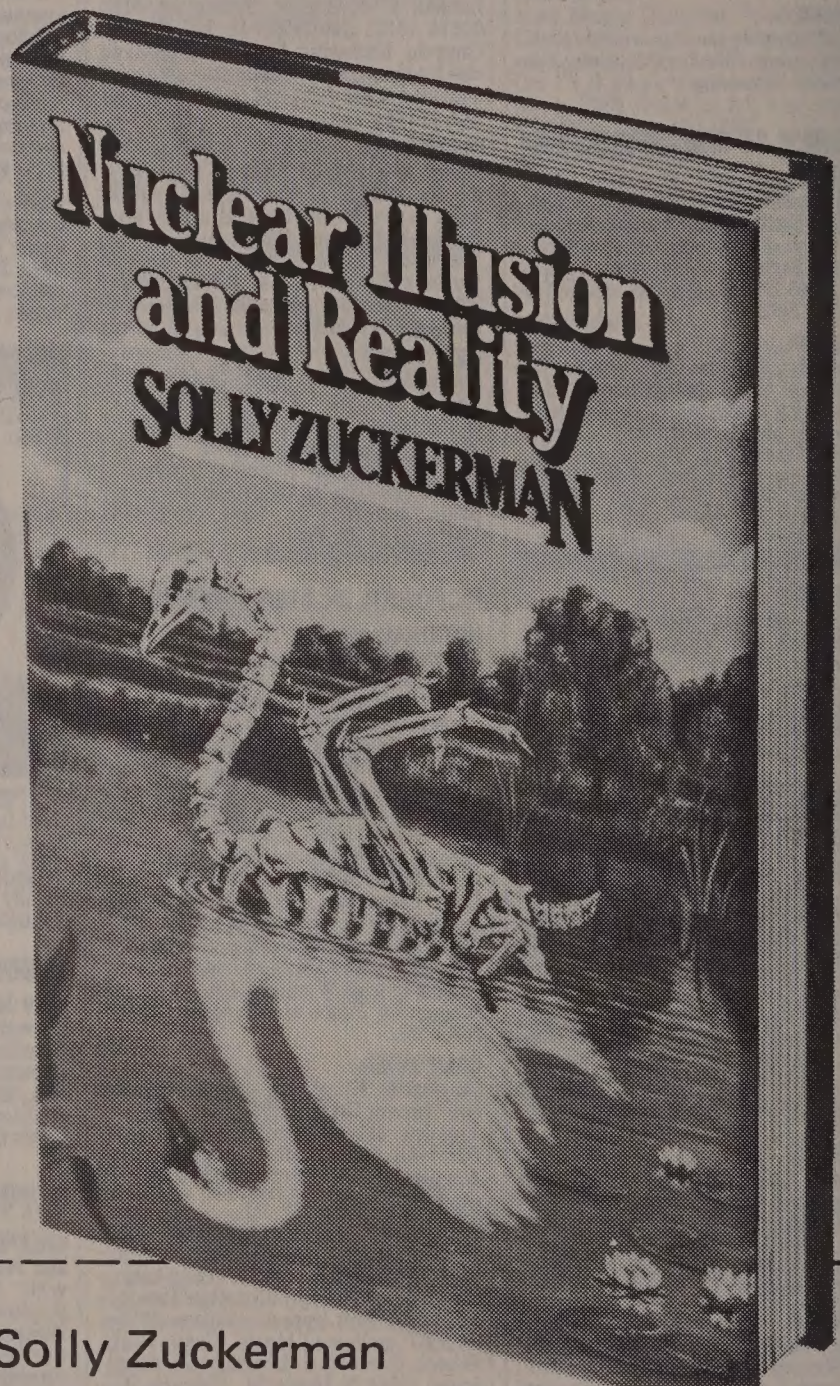
—Compiled by Walter Lew.
The deadline for submitting December calendar events is October 22.

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